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SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAJOR FIDEL CASTRO, PRIME MINISTER OF THE
 REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AND FIRST SECRETARY OF THE UNITED PARTY
 OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, ON JULY 26, 1964, ON THE OCCASION
 OF THE ELEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATTACK ON THE MONCADA BARRACKS.

Distinguished guests; Relatives of the comrades who fell in the assault on
 the Moncada Barracks and in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution; Work-
 ers; Farmers; People of Oriente province; Cubans:

Never in the town of Santiago de Cuba, never in this indomitable province,
 has such an enormous multitude congregated. On the morning of the 26th of July,
 when we advanced on the Moncada Barracks, we were thinking of many things, of the
 battles which faced us, of the struggle itself, of the tasks to be carried out when
 the revolution triumphed.

But we didn't think that eleven years after that morning, a multitude like
 this would meet to commemorate the date.

When men go out to battle, and are preparing to sacrifice themselves, they
 don't think about commemorations! Generally when men go out to battle they don't
 consider whether they will see the day when the people meet to celebrate their
 triumphs. But commemorations are the result of battles, of the people's efforts
 and struggles to fulfill their own destiny.

In any case, for us, for all the men who have struggled and contributed to
 these victories, for the leaders of the revolution, a demonstration such as this
 is a source of very profound satisfaction.

Such a meeting cannot be prepared, or invented; this is not a product of
 fantasy. Unless we are greatly ^{mistaken,} the hundreds of thousand of citizens meeting to-
 gether here this afternoon are men and women of real flesh and blood. It means,
 that the people have come to give their recognition, their support and their
 strength to our national development to the story which began to be written in this
 very city of Santiago de Cuba, the morning of the twenty sixth of July, 1953.

Major Fidel Castro pointed out that the support of the Cuban people is not
 simply a tribute to those who gave their lives for the cause of the people, but is
 the result of the process of that struggle, and is the fruit of sacrifice.

He said that a U.S. journalist had asked the reasons for the attraction of
 Mr. Fidel Castro. The answer --said Fidel-- is that it is not the attraction of
 Fidel Castro, but the attraction of the Revolution, and the causes will be found
 in the history of the Revolutionary laws! The answer is not in any one person, but
 in the work of the Revolution.

This is not a country of fanatics, but of men and women who think and feel.
 Our people are not used to paying tribute to anyone; we are a people who have been
 greatly deceived in the past. The faith of the people has been awakened by deeds
 not by words or by personalities.

The Revolution --said Fidel-- is not the work of a man or of a group of men;
 the Revolution is the work of a people. And what we are doing today, good or bad,

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He explained that the revolutionary government in power has endured because it has the support of the people. Comes from the people, because power is their strength, is the weapons in the hands of the people.

Here in Cuba —said Fidel— the only ones who are afraid are the CIA agents, the exploiters, the enemies of the Revolution. The country has seen so many of its best sons murdered, has been the victim of so many attacks, sabotage, and murders, it is not logical that the people will handle their enemies with kid gloves.

We can not handle enemies who are asking for a blood bath with kid gloves. There can be no happiness, or security within the Revolution for the enemies of the people and of the Revolution.

Fidel added that it is only because of the help, support and stimulus of successive governments of the United States that the counterrevolutionary elements decided to oppose the will of the people and were fooled by vain hopes. They first thought it would be a matter of days, then of months, or perhaps years. But now it seems that it is going to be a matter of centuries!

The Revolution has established its laws and according to them, it judges and sentences its enemies, but it neither tortures nor murders them. The men of the Revolution make the laws, and on the basis of those laws they judge and pass sentence. In addition we assume the historical responsibility for our actions.

The Revolution —said Fidel— has been generous. And he cited the example of the Playa Girón mercenaries, common agents of the CIA, who were neither tortured nor ill treated, and whose lives were spared, even though in any country in the world, traitors such as these in the service of a foreign power would pay with their lives for their crimes. Only the Batista henchmen, who came with the invasion and had been convicted of previous crimes, were sentenced to capital punishment.

The murderers of teachers, and of other people as well as those who try to destroy the riches of the nation, will not escape revolutionary justice, warned Fidel. The people have to defend themselves.

He then recalled the hurricane that just 9 months ago devastated Oriente province. He pointed out that today, July 26th, not a sign can be seen of the effects of the hurricane. The labor of the people rebuilt everything that was lost; not one victim was without help, not one orphan was left alone, not one single family was ruined economically.

The effort of thousands of Cubans, especially the members of the Armed Forces and the Cuban pilots, helped save thousands of lives. If the revolution had not been in power, politicians would have pocketed the money from the meager credits given to the victims.

Now no one has become a millionaire and on the other hand no family has been pauperized. Neither votes nor anything else was demanded in return for help, as was done in the past.

Fidel explained that there are still many problems, People ask for many things, for instance, more houses. We are working on that —he said— we are developing the construction industry, although we do not have enough workers or cons

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truction materials.

We know the needs of our people and we are simply not satisfied to say we can't fulfill them. We always look for a solution. He cited the examples of the new highways being built throughout Oriente province and the works under construction to provide Santiago de Cuba with sufficient fresh water and electricity.

Fidel said that there isn't a place in the mountains without a teacher and that now in Cuba not a single child dies for lack of medical attention or of medicines. These are among many things the Revolution is doing to develop our country. And the farmers, all our people, know it. Fidel reiterated that the sugar and cattle industries are being given priority because the growth of our agriculture will depend mainly on their development. We have made progress in five years and in the coming five years we will make even more. We inherited a poor, underdeveloped country with a very backward economy. The merit of our people is that despite these handicaps they are going in a short time to turn this country into a rich country, mechanized and technically advanced. We don't deny that we have rationing, said Fidel. We have it because if we didn't, only those with the most money would eat. For example in Brazil where there is no rationing, the rich have everything, and the poor go hungry. In many countries like Brazil there is no rationing, but the rich have everything and the poor go hungry. Brazil, Colombia, and Central America, for example, are not victims of imperialist blockades, yet there is hunger and their economies are ruined. They owe money to every one. But here in Cuba, in spite of the economic blockade, everyone eats. And we keep moving ahead.

The bourgeoisie speaks of freedom, said Fidel, but... what kind of freedom? The freedom to be hungry nine months in the year? The freedom to sell your vote? The freedom to put the whole family in debt in order to have your child receive an injection at a hospital? The freedom to work like a beast, that is when you have work? Those are the freedoms the bourgeoisie speaks of, the freedom to have a gang of armed hoodlums beating the people. *Liberty*

These are the freedoms of the bourgeoisie: freedom to be illiterate, freedom to be discriminated against, as was the case of a great part of our population, our Negro population. Those are the freedoms the bourgeoisies speak of.

The freedoms the people have known in the Revolution; are the freedom to study, the freedom to live decently and honorably, the freedom to be regarded as a human being, not an animal, the freedom not to be exploited like a beast. The right to go to a beach or to a restaurant if you are a Negro. It is no misfortune to be one because in this land Negroes and Whites are equally worthy and distinguished, without any type of discrimination. The right to work, the right to develop the wealth of the country, the right not to be beaten, or ill-treated the right to take part in the destiny of the country, the right to have a weapon to defend our country.

The true concept of freedom, of dignity, of rights... is what the Revolution has brought our country. That is why we are so hated by our enemies, our impotent enemies, who thought they would wipe us off the map with one puff, and now after five and a half years of Revolution, far from being obliterated you can hardly see

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the extent of the crowd that has gathered here!

Recently a U.S. Journalist interviewed me and we talked for about 18 hours. Well, he was interested in many questions...

He wasn't able to punish the answers to all of them, because don't for a minute believe that everything can be published there.

For example, a U.S. Journalist with a good reputation, Mr. Herbert Matthews, who is on the staff of the New York Times once visited Cuba and wrote his impressions. But they didn't let him publish them in the New York Times, one of the papers with the best reputation in the United States....

We agreed to grant an interview to another N.Y. Times journalist. He asked a series of questions covering all kinds of subjects. You all know how newsmen are... they ask a lot of questions, and some of them are very shrewd in the way they ask them.

He spoke of relations between the United States and Cuba. I answered frankly because frankness is best... why should we tell lies?... Look, the truth is that neither the United States nor Cuba did very much to prevent things from reaching the point they have.

Then he asked more questions, and I explained the position of Cuba. I explained, among other things why the people of the United States in my opinion, are unable to understand many present day problems. The people of the United States have never had to face the problems which the peoples of Europe had to face, nor experienced the difficulties the European peoples have experienced. The people of the United States have become accustomed to analyze problems in a very simplified manner.

One of the questions he asked was this: "Can the question of Cuban aid to other countries, to the revolutionary movement in Latin America, be negotiated?"...

I thought his question referred to the "aid" that they say we give the revolutionary movements in Latin America. I did not say yes or no; in other words, I did not say whether or not we gave aid. I just answered his question. I told him: "Look, aid to revolutionary movements can not be negotiated, can not be negotiated". Then I said: "If you ask me another question, that is, if you ask me if we are a nation capable of living in accordance with international laws rules then I would answer yes".

We are not going to negotiate the question of solidarity... No. That would not be the worthy of a revolutionary... and if we ever give any aid or should ever give any aid, we would never do so in order to negotiate on the basis of that aid.

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No. I said this very clearly, and I am clarifying it again because the newsman was very truthful. I would say more truthful than many newmen in quoting one's words.

But, of course, my answer was much more elaborate than it appeared in the printed interview. I want to repeat what I told him. I said: if you ask me if we are a country capable of living according to international laws my answer is yes, but this is already a different question.

Then, the newsman a very shrewd journalist, asked me: "When you say that Cuba can live in accordance with international laws do you mean that if other countries do not interfere in Cuba's internal affairs, then Cuba would respect the internal policy of those countries? My answer was "Yes".

We understand the need for peoples, for states to live in accordance with international laws.

He asked me: "This means, that if Cuba should send weapons to help the revolutionary movement in a country does not send weapons to Cuba to help the counter-revolution, and does not violate international law with respect to Cuba, Cuba would then be violating international law in sending weapons to that country. My answer was Yes.

In other words, if Cuba were to send arms to a country that respects our sovereignty, that doesn't meddle in our internal affairs, that doesn't give arms to the counterrevolution, then we would be violating the law.

Then he asked another question: "And what if you give money to a revolutionary movement?" I said, "It depends on what the money is for". For example, to turn it around, if it is the money that the United States gives to those who have left Cuba, to enable them to eat... that is of no importance to us, that would not be a violation of the law".

But he persisted, saying that was not what he meant. He meant economic aid, the financing of a revolutionary movement. So I replied in the same way. If Cuba helps finance a revolutionary movement in a country that doesn't meddle in the affairs of Cuba, a country that respects the sovereignty of Cuba, that doesn't finance any counter revolutionary movement, then we would be violating the law. That was my reply.

Afterwards they published a story which said: "Cuba is ready to negotiate the aid it gives to the revolutionary movement". But the question was not nor could it have been, put in that way. We sympathise with all revolutionary movements where ever they may be, but we understand that the very existence of nations and states imposes a system of laws of relationships between those states regardless of their

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social systems.

If it is desirable to have peace and to have nations live together in a civilised way, it is necessary that they live in accordance with the laws of international relationships.

This is a necessity.

It doesn't matter how great our sympathy may be towards revolutions. The realities of the world, the true and objective existence of more than one hundred states in the world, makes it imperative that states live subject to laws of international conduct.

For these reasons, laws are an absolute necessity.

These laws exist and they represent the only way in which mutual respect and peace can exist between nations.

That is our sincere belief, our revolutionary belief.

What we do not accept is that international laws are applicable in some areas but are not obligatory elsewhere.

Briefly, if we want to help a revolutionary movement, we see ourselves limited by the international laws that exist, that is to say we don't have the right to meddle in the internal affairs of another country. We do not have the right to meddle in their internal affairs.

All right, the laws are an impediment to us as revolutionaries in helping other revolutionaries. We would like to send them arms, we would like to send them supplies... But what stops us? The laws that exist between nations. We are held back by a respect for the policy of national sovereignty and the principle of self determination.

To make it quite clear, if a state in its relations with us, doesn't abide by the laws, if a state in its relations with us, meddles in our internal affairs, then there will be no impediment stemming from international laws, to prevent us from helping with all the resources at our disposal, ^{the} revolutionary movement in that country...

This is a clear policy, one based on principle.

Countries which don't respect Cuba, which meddle in the internal affairs of Cuba, and promote counter revolution have no right to complain if we help the revolution in those countries. We believe this is clear and elementary.

As you know, the Organization of American States, that rubbish heap, that U.S. Ministry of Colonies, has met to judge and sanction Cuba on the pretext that Cuba sent arms to the Venezuelan Revolutionaries.

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They say they found arms of Belgian-Cuban manufacture. From the information we have from very reliable sources it is certain that there were also bazookas and mortars manufactured in the United States, made in U.S.A.

And these were never acquired by Cuba. So how is it possible to explain the existence of those mortars, and those bazookas on the coast of Venezuela? If they say that we sent them, they would have to begin by admitting that they first sent them here.

This does not mean that we sent them. We don't have to render accounts of any kind to the OAS and we don't have to render accounts to the U.S. imperialists... and we don't have to render accounts to those who have never rendered account to us for the thousands of weapons that they themselves have introduced into our country.

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But this is not what we are discussing. Let history solve those questions.

When the OAS in the role of judges, sent us a piece of paper demanding explanations, we told them: "Go to the devil, we do not have to give you any explanations". Well, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Venezuela, met, that is, the Ministers of countries that have been promoting subversion and counterrevolution, in our land; the Ministers of States that have shamelessly, openly, been using their territories to train mercenaries, to supply bases, to arm men for invasions, pirate attacks, to drop weapons inside our country.

To sanction us on charges of having sent arms to Venezuela, they would first have to sanction the government of the United States 70 times over; they would also have to sanction the governments of Nicaragua and Guatemala 70 times over, the countries from which the Playa Girón invasion was organized, and innumerable shipments of arms came. And they would have to condemn the government of Venezuela that has financed counterrevolution and given arms to the counterrevolution.

What moral right have these gentlemen to judge and sanction Cuba?

There was a great fuss made over their meeting. Much fanfare; many cables flew back and forth to judge Cuba and apply sanctions against it. Nothing could be more cynical, more shameless. After meeting for several days they made certain decision. (A cry from the audience: "Who is going to bell the cat?"). That is the problem, who is going to bell the cat?

What happened there? Well, a group of countries headed by the United States imposed its will, its point of view. Everybody knew what the governments of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil would do —that was no surprise to anyone.

What did the United States want? They wanted all Latin American nations to break relations with us. They adopted an agreement on the breaking of diplomatic and consular relations with us. Here I have the decision of the Organization of American States.

What does the agreement say?

ONE: "To declare that the acts verified by the investigating committee constitute an aggression and an intervention on the part of the government of Cuba in the internal affairs of Venezuela, which affects all the member states.

TWO: "To condemn energetically the present government of Cuba for its acts of aggression and of intervention against the territorial inviolability, the sovereignty and the political independence of Venezuela (as if Venezuela had any political independence).

THREE: "The governments of the American States to suspend all trade, whether direct or indirect with Cuba, except in foodstuffs, medicines and medical equipment that may be sent to Cuba for humanitarian reasons. (We all know the "humanitarian reasons" of these shameless characters. You all know them well. Shortly after the hurricane struck Cuba last year, Cuba wanted to test these "humanitarian feelings" and decided to purchase certain shipments of medicines and baby food in the United States. The U.S. government, dropping the mask, then prohibited the sale of medicines and baby food, in spite of the fact that they had always said they would not do so... for "humanitarian reasons". These things are always said hypocritically. Not for "humanitarian reasons" but for reasons of sheer hypocrisy).

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The governments of the American States shall suspend all sea transportation between their countries and Cuba. except for such transportation as may be necessary for "humanitarian reasons".

FOUR: "To authorize the Council of the Organization of American States by an affirmative vote of two thirds of its members, to discontinue the measures adopted in the present resolution at such time as the government of Cuba shall have ceased to constitute a danger to the peace and security of the continent".

FIVE: "To warn the government of Cuba that if it should persist (listen to this, this is supposed to make you shiver, you will see) to warn the government of Cuba that if it should persist in carrying out acts that possesses characteristics of aggression and intervention against one or more of the member states of the Organization, these states shall maintain their essential rights as sovereign nations by means of the use of individual or collective self-defense, which could go so far to resort to armed forces (such frightening words!) until such time as the organ of consultation takes measures to ensure the peace and security of the continent".

SIX: "To urge those states not members of the OAS that are animated by the same ideals of the Interamerican system, to examine the possibility of effectively demonstrating their solidarity in achieving the purposes of this resolution".

SEVEN: "To instruct the Secretary General of the OAS to transmit to the United Nations Security Council the text of the present resolution in accordance with the provisions of Article #54 of the United Nations Charter".

These are the famous agreements of the OAS. But how were those agreements adopted? By The unanimous vote of all members? No. Who voted for these agreements? Let us examine them one by one.

The Dominican Republic, where the militarists staged a coup d'etat and overthrew that representative democrat, Juan Bosch and is now right-wing military government.

The government of Honduras, right-wing military government.

The government of El Salvador, another right-wing military government.

The government of Guatemala, another right-wing military government.

The government of Panama. The government of Panama, gentlemen, of Panama! Where only a few months ago, dozens of young people were murdered by U.S. marines who criminally fired on the people.

The government of Costa Rica, which is not a right-wing military government, but is the next thing to it, because it is as servile as the most servile of all the right wing militarists.

The government of Colombia. A government of oligarchs and right-wing military.

The government of Brazil, where the latest military coup took place.

The government of Paraguay. The government of dictator Stroessner.

The government of Peru, where the right-wing military are ready to throw out the pseudo-democratic government now in power if it dares to do something it has not been ordered to do.

And last --who is last? Why, Venezuela. A country where hundreds of young students have been assassinated, a country whose wealth in oil and iron is in the hands of the U.S. imperialists; a country that has been looted and exploited to the

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bare bone. And besides, gentlemen, there is a weak government in Venezuela, elected with only 30 percent of the votes; votes obtained in the same way they were obtained here before the revolution; a weak and corrupt government, frightened by the growing strength of the revolutionary movement in Venezuela.

Let the government of Venezuela summon the people of Caracas, the students, the workers and the farmers, to give them rifles. Then ask how long that government will last? The truth is that it is a government frightened by the growing strength of the revolutionary movement. Although the imperialists never speak of this, the truth is that the revolutionary movement led by the glorious Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) is ever stronger. It has numerous guerrilla bases which have not been crushed by the pro-imperialist government which succeeded the equally pro-imperialist and corrupt Betancourt government.

What is behind all this, these manoeuvres of the OAS? Fear! Fear of the Revolution. Fear of the Venezuelan people. Fear of the heroic fighters of the Armed Forces of National Liberation.

In answer to the OAS agreement, let us reply with a message of greeting and encouragement to the heroic revolutionaries of Venezuela. Today, on this 26th of July, the eleventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, from the heroic city of Santiago de Cuba, we send our warm fraternal greeting to the brave Venezuelan fighters, and we say to them: Don't forget the example of Cuba!

Our will to fight, our tenacity and our perseverance in the struggle, gave us victory. In a struggle such as that in which the Venezuelan people are engaged, it is more correct than ever to apply the saying that "he who perseveres will win."

The imperialists will not be able to crush the revolutionary movement of Venezuela, no more than the military clique could crush our revolutionary movement.

So it is fear that is behind these OAS manoeuvres! In Guatemala is the military government has not been able to crush the valiant guerrillas who are fighting in the mountains of that country against the pro-imperialist and exploiting government that rules there. Fear of revolutions is what has inspired the OAS agreements.

The spectacle of the United States voting against Cuba, judging Cuba, sanctioning Cuba, for "intervening in the internal affairs of other countries", according to the charges, the United States, that father of intervention! The United States, which has intervened in the internal affairs of all countries! The United States, which has been intervening in the internal affairs of Cuba for five years! The United States whose warships lined up in front of Santo Domingo to prevent the triumph of the Revolution of the Dominican people. The United States whose troops only a few months ago massacred the people of Panama! The United States voting sanctions against Cuba!

Which countries voted against sanctions? Mexico, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia, voted against the sanctions.

Which governments took part in the imperialist manoeuvre? All the right-wing military dictatorships, the governments representing the feudal oligarchies, the most disreputable governments on the continent, governments resulting from military coup d'etat..... Those were the governments that voted for sanctions.

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What governments voted against sanctions? The governments with the longest democratic and constitutional tradition in Latin America: Mexico, Chile and Uruguay.

Three countries known in America and in the world for their constitutional tradition over the past thirty years. All of you know the history of Uruguay, Chile and Mexico. They are not socialist countries, they are capitalist countries. But for many years constitutional governments have prevailed there, without military coups without right-wing militarists or putsches. From this point of view, it can be said that these countries enjoy great prestige and respect in the world.

The fourth country is Bolivia, where a worker-farmer revolution took place ten years ago.

Those four countries, which maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba voted against the measure, and against sanctions.

In reality, has the OAS imposed any new sanction against us?... Did they adopt any new measure against us? No... because all the countries which voted in favor of sanctions are nations whose governments, under pressure from the government of the United States, have already broken diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba.

Four nations have resisted the pressures exerted by the State Department and the government of the United States and have refused to break diplomatic relations with Cuba. Brazil had also refused but the imperialists took care of that with a coup d'etat.

But in Mexico, Chile, or Uruguay it was not so easy to carry out a coup. They could not do it, so they decided to reach an agreement in the Organization of American States; an agreement taking advantage of the automatic majority which for reasons known to all, the United States has in the OAS. In other words, through an agreement, reached by the most disreputable and reactionary governments, by the military dictators of the continent, the United States attempts to impose on Mexico, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia, a break in relations with Cuba.

Is the position of those countries due to their being communist countries? No. Theirs is a policy based on principle, on self-respect. We have the case of Mexico, a country which has been firmest in opposing this unjust and illegal, this cynical and shameless agreement. What is happening in the case of Mexico? Mexico is a country known for its consistent application of certain principles and laws in its international policy.

But Mexico is also a country which has been robbed of more than half its territory by the United States; Mexico is the country that has felt the claws of imperialism in its very flesh and blood.

Young Mexican cadets sacrificed themselves by leaping to their death from Chapultepec Castle wrapped in the Mexican flag rather than surrender to the invading U. S. forces.

Mexico had its revolution, its revolution of national liberation. Mexico nationalized the U.S. oil wells, and has maintained a policy in defense of its national interests.

Mexico's international policy has a long and good tradition, and in all justice

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it must be said that Mexico has followed that policy. Mexico has had the courage to uphold its position, because neither the government of Mexico nor the other governments that voted against the OAS agreements want to take part in or be responsible for that infamous page written at the meeting of the OAS.

We sincerely believe that the present President of Mexico will go down in history, along with the great President, Lázaro Cárdenas, who ranked among the great and good presidents of Mexico.

We don't know what the consequences of these agreements will be. We do not know because, in fact, this is an interference in the policy of other countries; in fact, this agreement is equivalent to trying to force a certain number of nations to break off diplomatic relations with Cuba, an action they have refused to take in the face of every kind of pressure.

What is our position? We ask: does there exist a real desire for peace?

Is there really a desire for better relations among the countries of this hemisphere? Then let them reach an agreement not to sanction Cuba, but to condemn all acts of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries by any nation of this hemisphere.

What are we prepared to do? We are prepared to do what we have always done. We are ready to live in peace with all countries and states of this hemisphere, regardless of their social system. We are ready to live under a system of international laws that are equally applicable to and equally binding on all countries.

Mexico, the government of Mexico, that has maintained the firmest position, inspires us respect. We are willing to talk with the government of Mexico. With the government of Mexico we are willing to follow a policy based on laws, laws of inviolable respect for the sovereignty of each country, and not to interfere in the internal affairs of any country if other countries are willing to live in the same way.

Now, I don't know what they will do with Mexico, if Mexico does not break relations with Cuba, or what they will allege. But we have faith in the government of Mexico and we make this statement with full responsibility: with the government of Mexico we are willing to talk, with the government of Mexico we are willing to negotiate, with the government of Mexico we are willing to enter into agreements.

If they want to take part in a real solution, in a truly wise and sensible formula, the governments of Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia can also participate.

Cuba makes this statement with all sincerity.

If the OAS wants to frighten us, to threaten us with invasions, to impose laws on us which are never lived up to in their treatment of us, if they want to apply this policy against Cuba while the United States and the governments that are its accomplices in these adventures, carry out a policy of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba, then, we are on the wrong road and those governments and the government of the United States are on the wrong road.

What did some U.S. writers and commentators say at the time of my interview with the U.S. journalist? They said that Cuba was talking that way because the Revolution was weak, because the Revolution was in a desperate situation.

This is curious. Only a few weeks ago when we warned them very seriously about

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the possible consequences of their violations of Cuban air space, when we spoke very vigorously to the government of the United States about the possible consequences of their provocations, they said that the Revolutionary government was talking that way because it was facing a desperate internal situation. They say the same thing when the Revolution rightly speaks in an energetic tone and calls attention to the dangers that the U.S. provocations represent to world peace, and when the Revolutionary Government speaks in defense of a position in favor of world peace! When the Revolutionary Government reiterates the position it has held and states that it is ready to discuss differences, then they say that we do so because we are weak and because we are desperate. They always reach the same conclusion and always the wrong conclusion.

Let them say what they wish! We have here a declaration which we have prepared to submit to the people as a Declaration of Santiago de Cuba in answer to the OAS.

Those gentlemen were not content with adopting sanctions, said Fidel Castro. No, they were so utterly shameless that they signed a so-called "Declaration to the Cuban People".

He, then, read the long OAS preamble full of legalities. Fidel commented on the one which proclaims "that the orientation of the peoples education must be directed towards Justice, Liberty and Peace".

But that is just what we have been doing, exclaimed Fidel. Liberty and Peace... that is just what we have been working for!

In another part of the preamble it says that "by adopting a Marxist-Leninist ideology, Cuba established a political, economic and social regime foreign to the democratic and Christian traditions of the family of American nations". Fidel Castro replied by describing the Cuban regime as follows:

"An economic and social system foreign to giant land holdings, foreign to unemployment, hunger, U.S. monopolies, police brutality, cheap politics; foreign to graft, crime, injustice and privilege. These characteristics, he said, are not "foreign", however, to the traditions of most of those Latin American countries.

Fidel then read the conclusions of the OAS document as follows:

That the free peoples of America are convinced that the Inter-American system offends the people of Cuba unequalled conditions for the realization of the ideals of peace, liberty, and social and economic progress;

That the nations making up the Inter-American system express their solidarity with the people of Cuba in all their sufferings, in their total loss of liberty, both spiritual, social and economic, the loss of their fundamental human rights, the persecutions that they are undergoing, the destruction of a juridical order capable of perfecting itself, and that could have maintained its stability; and that, within this spirit of solidarity, the free nations of America cannot remain indifferent to, or ignore the fate of the noble Cuban people, oppressed by a dictatorship that denies the Christian democratic traditions of the American peoples, and they, therefore, declare:

1. "Their profound concern for the fate of the brother people of Cuba;
2. "Their encouraging hope that the Cuban people, strengthened by its confidence in the solidarity of the other peoples and governments of America, may be able through

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their own efforts, in the near future, to free themselves from the tyranny of the Communist regime that oppresses them, and establish in the country a government freely elected by the will of the people that will assure respect for fundamental human rights;

3. "Their firm conviction that the fact of the energetic condemnation of the policy of aggression and intervention of the Cuban government against Venezuela will be received by the people of Cuba as a stimulus to revive their hopes, so that a climate of freedom may prevail in their country, offering Cubans an atmosphere favourable to the development of their personality and the realization of their just aspirations."

Can you conceive of anything more bare-faced, more cynical, more shameless? asked Fidel Castro. When I read these agreements I recalled some events of the past. I thought for example, of this highway of Siboney on which are written the names of the eighty fighters of Moncada, murdered by the henchmen of Batista; I thought of our recent walk through a street in Santiago when we ran into a group of farmers, some of whom came to greet us because they were known to us from Minas del Frío; and I remembered some of the events that occurred in the mountains which the peasants knew about; I was thinking of the slaughter in Oro de Guisa where 40 peasants were cowardly assassinated in one family they killed everyone but one boy; and I remembered the mother all of whose children were killed; I thought of the 300 murdered citizens of Bueycito, the farmers of so many places. All these memories are still fresh in our minds.

And I thought of Batista, the agent of U.S. monopolies, whose soldiers used their machetes on the backs of our peasants to defend the interests of the United Fruit Company.

I thought of the scores of humble and unfortunate persons who were mowed down in the Sierra Maestra, as they were during the bloody Christmas of 1956, by bullets fired by the defenders of exploitation and privilege. Not a word of "encouragement" was then addressed to the people of Cuba.... not a word of encouragement to mothers who lost their sons.... Not a word was said to condemn the criminals, not a word to condemn the exploiters. But now, when the people have liquidated those evils, when the people and the revolution are one and the same thing, when people and state power are one and the same thing, when there are no more armed rural guards threatening and intimidating the people, but only the people themselves, remain to defend the fatherland and the revolution with their weapons, these arrogant gentlemen are so brazen as to address this message of "encouragement" to the people of Cuba, to the armed people of Cuba, to the revolutionary people of Cuba!

We could say to them... "give weapons to the workers and peasants in Latin America and then see how long the military dictators in power will last!" We have given weapons to the workers and peasants, we have given weapons to the students, and those weapons are the strength of our revolutionary state. Let the OAS people dare come here to try to take away the rifles from the peasants, the workers and the students, and give them to their henchmen and their gangsters!

Our people have had enough of that. Our peasants endured much abuse; many floggings by the rural guards. Our workers endured many injustices, our students many beatings.

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Let them dare come here to take the rifles away from the people to give them to the henchmen and the mercenaries! Let them try to take away the rifles from the people! We will receive them with bullets, "lots of them", as one comrade said.

What are those gentlemen of the OAS doing? They are issuing a call to counterrevolution! They are utterly shameless. They accuse Cuba of interfering in their internal affairs, and they are calling for counterrevolution.

Well, then, from here, from this Presidential stand, we address the workers and peasants who suffer oppression in all those countries that voted against Cuba, to the workers and peasants of Venezuela, Brazil, Paraguay, Perú, Colombia, Panamá, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Salvador, Honduras, Santo Domingo, and we reaffirm our faith, our conviction that they too will some day rid themselves of all those miserable right-wing militarists, that some day, peacefully or forcibly, they will take power and will also carry through the workers and peasants revolution, liquidate the U.S. monopolies and end exploitation of man by man.

We will see how all this ends. We will see with the passing of the years who was right, they or we. We will see if the reactionaries take possession of Cuba, or if the reactionaries are rejected by the oppressed peoples of Latin America.

In the face of the call by the imperialists to counterrevolution, the call of the Cuban revolution is to Latin American Revolution. Call against call! We will see who is right. We will see whose side history is on their side or ours. We will see whether they can destroy the revolution or whether the peoples will destroy reaction and imperialism.

They make another appeal calling upon the nations of Europe to stop all trade with us. Of course, the European nations know that the United States wants to have certain privileges in international trade, to maintain its monopoly of trade in Latin America. The nations of Europe know that when a country like Cuba frees itself from exploitation by and dependence on the United States, it may trade freely with all other countries of the world. Before, we had to sell to Europe to get dollars from them to pay the United States. However, since the victory of the Revolution we are able to trade freely with Europe, and in the end the Cuban revolution has been a good example for Europe.

What has the Cuban revolution demonstrated? It has demonstrated that Europe has nothing to lose from revolutions in Latin America, and that if the rest of the countries in Latin America achieve their liberation as Cuba has done, those countries will also be able to trade with Europe to a greater extent than they are doing now.

It is foolish to believe that the European countries from which the United States want to take markets away and with whom the United States competes in trade in Latin America, will consent to the ridiculous request made by the United States that they should not trade with Cuba. U.S. influence in the world lessens day by day, and Europe is not the Europe of 20 years ago.

Only a few days ago General Charles De Gaulle told the U.S. government very clearly that the post-war days in which the United States directly or indirectly ran the affairs of Europe are gone forever.

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Europe is freeing itself. We congratulate General De Gaulle for his declaration of independence from the United States: I do need to conceal the fact that we are very glad that General De Gaulle speaks the truth to the U.S. government.

But it is not only Europe: most of Africa has also liberated itself. Some African countries, like Algeria, today follow the road of socialism. In Algeria, as you all know, there is a Mohammedan religious majority, but they have said they follow the road of socialism and are building socialism. They have not said they are Marxists-Leninists but they are building socialism nevertheless. They are doing the same thing we are doing.

Thus the peoples of the world not only are achieving their freedom, but they are following roads similar to that of Cuba.

Asia is also liberating itself. The U.S. imperialists are losing the war in South Vietnam where they are taking quite a beating.

In Latin America the imperialists no longer control the governments of this continent at their will, because there are countries which know how to adopt an independent policy, an international policy of their own.

So what do we care about those agreements since they had already imposed the breaking of diplomatic and trade relations; and since they cannot impose the breaking of trade relations on other countries of the world. We will face this situation.

As you all know there are certain problems of domestic policy in the United States at present. Those problems are reflected in certain actions, as comrade Raúl Castro explained on the occasion of the death of our comrade Ramón López Peña, the Cuban soldier assassinated by U.S. marines in the Guantánamo Naval Base.

In the United States the political forces are polarizing around two positions: the most reactionary and the less reactionary. It could very well be said that U.S. politics is a matter of the bad - or the worst.

Since April 19th a certain type of extremely serious provocations, began such as crossing the border line to insult our flag; firing at a soldier and wounding him; firing at another soldier hardly two weeks later and wounding him too; firing and killing another revolutionary soldier only a few days ago. In the face of such incidents, we have given proof of great self-control.

We know the reasons behind all this, and Raul explained them. We don't believe that the government of the United States is ordering these provocations to be carried out. That would be such an absurd, stupid, and illogical policy, that we don't believe it.

In our opinion, there are certain elements in the Guantánamo Base which can be held responsible - perhaps the Base Commander himself, who is a right-wing militarist of the worst kind - (they have put in command at Guantánamo a man who used to belong to the clique of General Mac Arthur who was a notorious warmonger). This gentleman seems to be directly responsible for the serious provocations that have been taking place at the Base.

It seems to us that this man would like us to return their fire, to kill a couple of U.S. Marines so that the incident could be used in the election campaign as a political weapon against President Johnson himself.

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Of course I don't think Johnson is a saint. But, it seems, the ultra-right which is challenging Johnson's position in the United States, is ready to use any means to provoke any kind of incident. And of course, we do not want to play into the hands of the U.S. ultra-right.

Certainly, this is clear, logical, reasonable, intelligent, and correct. But, does all this mean that we, in order not to play into the hands of Mr. Goldwater, must allow them to go on assassinating our men at the Guantánamo Base...? No!! I believe that this problem concerns not only Cuba but the United States as well. It concerns the very government of the United States.

Even if we do not believe that the Guantánamo provocations are the result of orders from the United States government, we do believe that the United States government is responsible for the fact that these provocations are not prevented because, if the U.S. government does not want to, or cannot, prevent such provocations, then the hopes for peace in this world are very small. I believe that the whole world is interested in peace. We analyze problems objectively and realistically. We understand that Goldwater is the worst candidate, and would be a most dangerous president for the United States and for the world. But this does not mean that we have the slightest fear of Mr. Goldwater. We are interested in peace. But we are not the only ones interested in peace. We are ready to make sacrifices for the sake of peace. But for the sake of peace, we are not in favor of converting ourselves into a sacrificial lamb that would place its head on the chopping-block.

A very serious moral problem arose for us. Since we bear great responsibilities, we often find ourselves in situations where we have to make very serious decisions. It is really hard to go to the funeral of a comrade who was assassinated in a cowardly way, and have to tell our soldiers to maintain their serenity, to have to advise them not to make use of the weapons they carry to defend themselves.

It is hard for us to have to tell our men to stay there and be killed without firing a shot. The philosophy of the lamb led to slaughter is not and never will be our philosophy.

If it is a matter of going to our death, if it is a matter of dying, it is much nobler and more dignified to say: let us all die, and not send our men there to be killed, one by one. Our people live and struggle, and all the citizens of the country are brothers. I have no doubt that every man here would be willing to sacrifice himself for his people, but it is hard to ask men to stand up and be murdered, even if it is for the sake of peace! They kill them one by one for peace. If they want to, let them kill us all together for the sake of peace.

The comrades took certain measures; they dug trenches; they withdrew the comrades of the battalion and they placed them in positions protected by trenches and I can assure you that it was hard to force the men to retire to the trenches because it offended their honor, dignity, and manhood. They did not want to go into the trenches.

I have not the slightest doubt that anyone of our men has ten times more courage than anyone of these drunkards who are shooting at them with impunity from the base.

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However, in support of peace we were once again cautious. But this does not mean that there is any guarantee that the incidents will not be repeated. There are zones where the men are closer. And there are zones where, if they decide to, they may continue their shooting and killing.

This raises for us a serious, a very serious problem. It is really painful to go to the burial of one of our men, give our condolences to a mother, to have men endure those tests; to have to stand for such cowardly and miserable murders.

We are interested in peace. But this interest must also be shown by the government of the United States and the governments of other countries. No one has the right to say we should allow our men to be murdered one by one for the sake of peace.

We feel that this behavior, these shootings and murders constitute a flagrant violation of the October 1962 agreements. What kind of guarantees have the imperialists given to the integrity of Cuba if they begin to murder our men from the base? What guarantee is this for Cuba? What security does this mean for Cuba?

People of Oriente, all our citizens! We bear great responsibilities and try to carry them out with wisdom and serenity. It is hard to analyse and reflect on the consequences that could arise for us from a clash with the imperialists. Who can doubt that we are in love with the work of the Revolution. Who can doubt that when, on a day like yesterday, we saw the little children at the Camilo Cienfuegos School City, who are no longer little boys but grown boys gathered at our stadium; when we see the youth that is growing and developing into a healthy, strong and revolutionary youth; when we see the magnificent perspectives ahead for our people? Who can doubt that we want to avoid wars, that we want to prevent destruction and death?

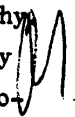
As leaders of the people we are faced with these problems. But along with these problems comes another responsibility: the responsibility to our soldiers, to these men who are guarding the frontiers of the country; and if we have the right to tell those men to let themselves be killed, to let themselves be murdered, then, we are presented with a very serious problem. That is why we believe that if shots continue to be fired at our men, if our soldiers continue to be murdered it will not be possible to avoid a serious incident; it will not be possible to avoid the bitter necessity to give the order to answer shot with shot.....

I don't believe, I cannot believe that render a service to peace, by allowing our men to be killed like sheep, because that is precisely the Goldwater thesis: Communism must be hit and hit hard. That is the thesis of Goldwater.... and if they hit us and hit us hard, let us return each blow, and let us return it hard.

For the sake of peace, for the sake of peace, we have been patient with the U-2 planes, for the sake of peace we have wanted to give all the time necessary and exhaust all possible means to have the U-2 planes stop flying over our territory. But it isn't the same thing to allow the passage of a U-2 as it is to bury a comrade in the cemetery. It isn't the same thing. We don't want Mr. Goldwater to win but if to keep Mr. Goldwater from winning, we have to pay the price of a death every time it suits the fancy of the U.S. marines, then what more can Goldwater do to us than Johnson is doing?

If the situation is such that they are going to assassinate our men in any case, then one man up there is the same as the other.

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We invited a group of U.S. newspapermen to visit us. Some people have asked why. In the first place it was done in deference to the American people who are so vilely deceived, and badly informed, and to whom so many lies have been told about our revolution. 

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That is the first reason why we invited the U. S. newspapermen to come and travel around by themselves, tour the island, even look in the caves if they like, taking care that no hairy spider bites them!

Let them see and talk with the people, and talk with the counter-revolutionaries too: talk with whoever they want to.

We don't have to hide our problems, our difficulties... We are proud of them. Really, if we had no difficulties, what satisfaction could we feel? What will they say about us in ten years from now? That we know how to face up to them? Or that we didn't know how to face up to them? It is natural that coming generations will in the main enjoy the results of the efforts that we are making, but we will be proud to say, "that is what we have done through tenacity, sacrifice and faith".

Of course, it will not only be the coming generations, the present generation itself will, to a great degree, enjoy the fruits of our efforts. But we have nothing to hide, so let the newspapermen see the reality and tell the truth, those who want to write objectively....

They can see why the people are with the revolution, what it is that cements the support of the people to the revolution. They can see that we are solving our problems, and among other things, there can never occur in our country such events as are taking place in New York, South Carolina, Miami, all those places where the Ku Klux Klan is on the prowl, lynching fellow citizens of the United States because of the colour of their skins. They can see that we have no racial problems here now though there were racial problems left us by the imperialists, because here we had Woolworths, Sears Roebuck and all those stores that refused employment to Negro girls and in whose offices men were not allowed to work because of the colour of their skin.

The revolution put an end to privileges without force, without pressure, without laws. The problem of discrimination is not a matter of laws, since here there was a constitution that said: All discrimination based on race or sex is illegal and punishable by law. In our country, men and women were discriminated against because of their race, and women were discriminated against because of their sex. The revolution came, it did away with all privileges and ended discrimination because of race and sex.

Negroes I believe it is very encouraging that in our country there are no white gangs persecuting Negroes, and that here, on the beaches, on our streets, in our theaters or restaurants, everywhere, we live together as brothers; we, Negroes and whites, equal rights, we Negroes and whites, are ready to give our lives for our country.

It is not we who imposed restrictions on travel. The United States, the country of democracy, of freedom, does not allow students to come to Cuba; does not allow travel to Cuba; does not even allow a visit to Cuba. It is not we who restrict travel. We allow people to come and leave. It is they who cut off the flights.

We allowed people to come here in all sincerity.... We invited the newspapermen to take part in these festivities, to talk to anyone they want to talk to, and to report as they want to report.

We are not going to get mad if they don't speak in our favor. Not at all.

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But at least, the people of the United States will have the opportunity to be informed in an objective manner.

We hope that our people have treated the newspapermen well, because we are a hospitable people. This is a nation with great dignity and honor, not a nation of hate. Why are the Cuban people not a people full of hate? Because frustrated people hate, and this is a victorious people... Our people do not harbor resentment, they have no complexes... Our people are courteous; anyone of our citizens could be working in the protocol department of our Foreign Ministry. Our people are refined, decent, gentlemanly.

We would like to improve our relations with the United States! In fact, we would like to improve our relations with the whole world. But, is it vital for us to improve our relations with the United States? No. We are ready to make some effort to improve them. That is so. We think that the United States has followed a stupid, idiotic policy toward Cuba, but we do not have to follow a similar policy, stupid and idiotic. We do not want to.

If the possibilities exist we shall improve relations. Yes... I think in that way Cuba would gain, the United States would gain and the world would gain.

But even though this is our way of thinking, we have to be prepared to live 20 years more if necessary without relations with the United States. Twenty years. We have no need for them... All the damage they could inflict on us has already been done.

They left us a colonial economy, an underdeveloped country, a series of factories that work on the basis of U.S. raw materials. All our transport and all our factories used U.S. parts. They banned sales to us, they did everything.

When we set up a factory here, it is better for us to do it with Soviet, British, French or Chinese equipment, or equipment from any other country where the government is not stupid.

The damage they could do to us is done already. If they establish relations with us and are going to sell us^a factory, we may say, we may say, Oh! but, suppose later on, they cut off the supply of spare parts...? We prefer to trade with the British, the French and with other countries that have more sense. So, the damage that the Americans could do to us is done already.

We would like to improve our relations with the United States but, if they do not want to do so, then, Gentlemen, we can wait twenty years! Twenty years! We do not depend on them --we depend on our own labor. Do you know who is our best ally? Our work! Through work, we solve everything. Working hard and with discipline-- hard, disciplined work.

People more persistent than ours are hard to find. Men more tenacious and persevering than the men of this country, than the revolutionary leaders of this country, are hard to find. We have tenacity and will enough to live twenty years without relations with the United States. Nevertheless, this does not mean that we are not ready to struggle for the improvement of those relations but we are not suffering from any obsession about it.

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If a government in the United States now declares its readiness to try for better relations with Cuba, it is liable to lose votes. Here, we can bring the subject before the people.... See the big difference.... We do not lie to our people, we tell them the truth, we are frank, sincere, honest. We consult the opinion of the people.

But we are lucky to have a people who think, who are not educated on Tarzan movies or novels about the FBI. And I don't say this against the people of the United States. I remember when I was a boy I used to go to see Tarzan movies. What did I see? --The white man was always stronger, the white man was the intelligent one, the white man persecuted the Negro. The Negro was always uncivilized. What kind of mentality does all this create in people?.. Eh? It creates the idea of racial superiority, of the superiority of the white to the Negro. And so it goes in many other ways through which the American people get their education. I think that the people of the United States, like any other people, can be a great people. They have many merits, they like to work, they are intelligent, but they have the misfortune of their social system. What goes on there is a mad house!

And speaking of freedom? What freedom do they have? Objective information about what is happening in Cuba is very seldom published in the United States. They tell us that here we have a line, that in Cuba there is no freedom of the press, and it is true! Here there is no freedom for the bourgeois press. The bourgeoisie and the reactionaries do not have freedom of the press here. And there is a line, the line of the Revolution. Of course, when the imperialist enemy disappears and when the exploiting classes have disappeared, then we can even afford the luxury of dissolving the State. No one should forget that the aspirations of the communist philosophy includes the withering away of the State. But we are realists, we are in the middle of a struggle, the State is necessary. In the past that State was an instrument in the hands of the exploiters. Today it is an instrument in the hands of the workers.

The army that yesterday was an instrument of the exploiters, is today the army of the workers and farmers, an army that fights for the workers and farmers.

This is our State. Yesterday it was an instrument for the domination of the exploiters, today it is an instrument for the domination of the workers and the farmers. We don't go about being hypocrites. We say openly press has its policy, that is to say, it defends the revolution, fights the counterrevolution. In the United States the press also has its policy. There it defends the status quo, it defends the existing social system. There anyone who is a communist is put in jail or is dismissed from his job without the slightest consideration. That's what they do in that super-democratic country. We are giving the U.S. newsmen here the opportunity to write objectively, to report objectively to the U.S. people. We treat them with all courtesy and we sincerely thank them for coming to Cuba.)

There were a number of news cables telling the newsmen who were coming here not to accept even a cup of coffee or they would be considered agents of a foreign power. How ridiculous and absurd! What prejudice, what obsessions, what hypocrisy,

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what demagogery, what lies! The truth is that we prefer the kind of society we have, that's without the least doubt. And especially since we are going to improve it. I am not eulogizing our ^{revolutionary} government, nor am I eulogizing our work. No. I am defending it, yet at the same time we are aware that we have many things to overcome and that we will correct them step by step. But in all earnestness we can say that we are doing well, we can repeat today that phrase which became famous during the first months of the Revolution; we can tell our lost comrade Camilo: "Things are going well, Camilo".

on

Major Fidel Castro then went to say:

Today we can say to our comrades who fell in the attack on the Moncada Barracks and in the Sierra Maestra Mountains; "things are going well, fallen comrades". The revolution has grown as the result of the effort of the people, of the unity of the people, the result of the union of the fighters of Moncada, of the revolutionary Directorate, of the comrades from the Peoples Socialist Party, the union of the comrades who fought in the underground and in the mountains. Because the revolution has brought them all together and has grown at the same time.

Fidel Castro said that tomorrow's generations will be better than the present one, and that today we feel optimistic and confident of the great future that our country has before it. The risks do not matter because they are the price we have to pay for that future. As José Martí said: "Better to die standing up than to live on one's knees". We have learnt how to overcome great difficulties; never before have we had better perspectives, never before have we been stronger than today. We are all one today, from the easternmost to the westernmost tip of the island, we are all one.

On this 26th of July, I want the people to have these two ideas firmly implanted in their minds. We are stronger, we are marching well, but we still have years of obstacles, we still have some years of sacrifice ahead of us. We must keep these ideas in mind, well impressed upon our minds, while we are marching forward more rapidly and better than ever.

Finally I am going to propose this Declaration in reply to the OAS, in the name of the Cuban people.

It reads as follows: DECLARATION OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA

The people of Cuba meeting in Santiago de Cuba on the occasion of the glorious date of July 26th declare:

ONE: That the Organization of American States has no moral or legal basis of any kind for judging and sanctioning Cuba.

TWO: That the United States, in complicity with the governments of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa ^{RICA}, Venezuela, Puerto Rico and others, has introduced into Cuba thousands of weapons and tons of explosives to promote subversion and to overthrow the Revolutionary regime.

THREE: That on the territory of the United States and within the Army of that country as well as on the territories of Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica and other Caribbean countries, thousands of mercenaries have been organized and trained

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who have been used and are still being used in acts of aggression against Cuba.

FOUR: That, as is well known by world public opinion, the Playa Giron expedition which cost the people of Cuba more than one hundred lives and enormous material losses was organized from bases located in those countries; and dozens of pirate attacks by sea and by air against ports, towns and industrial installations of Cuba have been carried out with impunity from bases located in those countries.

FIVE: That the Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S. government has introduced into Cuban national territory hundreds of agents specially trained to carry out sabotage and acts of vandalism such as the murder of teachers, of young literacy brigaders, of humble workers and farmers in acts of ferocious and brutal revenge against a revolutionary people.

SIX: That from the Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay, territory occupied by force by the U.S. government, U.S. marines have carried out thousands of provocations against our people, reaching such grave proportions that in recent weeks two Cuban soldiers have been wounded and one killed as a result of the criminal and cowardly shots fired from the Base.

SEVEN: That for almost two years U.S. military planes have been violating the air space of Cuba in flagrant violations of the most elementary norms of international law.

EIGHT: That it is an act of unprecedented cynicism, for aggressors to constitute themselves judges to sanction the country that has been the victim of aggression.

NINE: That the people of Cuba reject the sanctions imposed as cynical, shameless and unjust.

TEN: That the people of Cuba indignantly reject the Declaration issued at the OAS meeting which is a shameless call to counter-revolution.

ELEVEN: That the people of Cuba warn that unless pirate attacks carried out from U.S. territory and other Caribbean countries are ended, as well as the training of mercenaries to carry out sabotage actions against the Cuban revolution, and the sending of agents, arms and explosives into the territory of Cuba, the people of Cuba will consider they have an equal right to help, with all means at their disposal, the revolutionary movements in countries that carry out such interference in the internal affairs of our country.

That is to say, the people of Cuba will consider they will have an equal right to help, with the means at their disposal, the revolutionary movements in all those countries which carry out such interference in the internal affairs of our country.

TWELVE: The people of Cuba repudiate the insolent threats of armed aggression contained in that infamous document, and warn that to shoot in a cowardly manner against an unarmed people, as happened in Panama is not the same thing as to invade an armed people ready to shed their last drop of blood in defense of their homeland.

And they reaffirm what General Antonio Maceo, the great hero of our war of

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independence, once said: Whoever tries to conquer Cuba and does not perish in the attempt, will gain nothing but the dust of its blood drenched soil.

The Declaration ends with these words: Our country or Death. We will win.
Signed: The people of Cuba, in answer to the Declaration of the OAS. Santiago de Cuba, July the 26th, 1964. Year of Economy.

This is the declaration we present for the consideration of the people to have it proclaimed, as the Declaration of Santiago de Cuba, a worthy answer to the farce, the comedy, the show, the maneuver of our enemies.

People of Oriente: Long live the martyrs! Long live all those who have given their lives for our country! Long live the Socialist Revolution! Long live Marxism Leninism!

Our country or Death. We will win!

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MINISTERIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES

Dirección de Información

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

STAT

Fidel Castro Warns:

**WE WANT AN HONORABLE PEACE,
NOT A DEGRADING PEACE**

“... let history point to
those who are responsible
for whatever happens...”

POLITICAL DOCUMENTS

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REPUBLIC OF CUBA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

Fidel Castro Warns:

SPEECH GIVEN ON APRIL 19 1964

**WE WANT AN HONORABLE PEACE,
NOT A DEGRADING PEACE**

**"... let history point to
those who are responsible
for whatever happens..."**

Comrades of the Revolutionary Armed Forces:

Comrade Revolutionaries:

Today is the third anniversary of the victory of Playa Girón. This date is becoming increasingly significant; we see it in its true dimensions more clearly every day. It was not the first imperialist aggression against a Latin American nation, it was not the first barbaric action of the US imperialists, their first act of brutality, their first act of intervention. They have committed many aggressions, interventions, crimes, and acts of brutality against our sister nations of Latin America. There are very few countries in this hemisphere that do not know the meaning of intervention, piracy, and US attacks, beginning with Puerto Rico, a Latin American country which they converted into a colony.

Playa Girón meant the first defeat for US imperialism in Latin America and — as comrade Guevara said recently — “the first, but not the last”. The imperialists will receive new defeats; they will receive them on our territory if they attack us, and they will receive them elsewhere, at the hands of other nations whom they enslave.

Until Playa Girón they had acted with absolute impunity. Until then they felt they had the right to despise the Latin American peoples.

Until then, they depreciated our Latin American peoples.

The imperialist aggression at Playa Girón demonstrated many things. Among them, it demonstrated that the Organization of American States was an instrument of imperialist domination and colonialism, a docile instrument in the hands of the US State Department.

When our country was criminally attacked, bombed by planes coming from Central American bases, invaded by mercenary forces, escorted as well as armed by the US government, our country had to meet that attack with sa-

crifice and blood. The United States, the government of that country, did not even receive a reprimand.

A few months later, that same organization, which had no word of reproach for that criminal attack, expelled Cuba, the attacked, victimized country, from the Organization of American States!

This taught us that in facing imperialism those organizations — instruments of the same imperialism — are absolutely useless, and that they serve only the interests of the enemies of the peoples.

Three years have passed. That victory cost our people a high toll in lives: the lives of workers, farmers, soldiers, civilians. We had to pay a very high price. Did that mean that after the attack we should have put away our arms? that after the attack they would leave us in peace? No! The aggressive plans continued. The US imperialist did not resign themselves to their defeat and began to prepare new plans of aggression.

The military strengthening of our country became necessary. It was necessary to take measures to be in a position to defend ourselves. Then came the October crisis.

For the past five years, since the victory of the Revolution, our country has had no peace. For five years we have been suffering economic, political and military aggressions. For five years we have suffered invasion, as in the case of Girón; sabotage, as in the case of the ship **La Coubre**; arson, as in the case of Havana's big department store **El Encanto**; the smuggling of arms, explosives, agents of every kind into our country; and the organization of counterrevolutionary gangs, which have committed an endless series of crimes against our farmers, teachers and members of the literacy brigades.

In short, the history of these five years of Revolution is the history of a nation defending itself against the enemy, a history of US imperialist aggressions against our country. It's the history of a people who have constantly had to defend their work, who not only had to pay a high toll in blood to overthrow the tyranny imposed by those same imperialist interests, armed by that same imperialism, but

who are still paying it, and will have to continue paying it, for who knows how long.

Our people, without giving up their defenses for one moment, have had to face the economic embargo; have had to face all the obstacles placed in their path by a rich, powerful imperialistic country. They have had to rebuild their economy and carry out their plans in all fields, always with a sword hanging over their heads: the sword of imperialist aggression.

Still under these conditions, our country has advanced, Under these conditions, it has carried out its plans in the field of education, in the field of public health, plans of economic development — and it has done this with the people, with the simplest men and women of the people, enduring not only all the aggressions we have spoken of, but even the enticing away of our technicians.

For they hesitated at nothing, they even tried to deprive our country of doctors, engineers, university technicians; they tried to create the worst possible conditions, so that the Revolution would fail. But it is not easy to make a Revolution fail, it is not easy to defeat a Revolution. And they have not been able to defeat us! If this had been a half-way Revolution, they would have defeated us; if this had been a timid and cowardly Revolution, a Revolution of vacillating people, they would have defeated us. And yet, they have not defeated us and they will not be able to defeat us! Of this country it can be said: it would rather be wiped from the map than be defeated!

I speak this way because we must be alert, firm, and determined to struggle. I speak this way because we are still on the march and we are still struggling against imperialism. I speak this way because many threats and dangers still menace our country.

Today, as we remember those who died gloriously and valiantly defending their land, their flag, their cause, their ideals, we have to speak this way, we must speak clearly. The truth has to be clearly expressed. We must tell those who died that day — comrades from our battalions, from our work centers — that we recall them not in words alone,

that when we pay tribute to them it is not a simple lyrical tribute; we are telling them that we too are ready to die.

We do not say farewell to our dead, to our revolutionary soldiers who died for in a Revolution, in the midst of struggle, the most we can say is: "Until we meet again, until we meet again, comrades, you who gave your lives!" We will not bargain over our lives in the struggle. We are not living to enjoy the sacrifice of those who gave everything, but to defend the fruits of that sacrifice at any price.

Three years after Playa Girón, imperialist reaction again rears its head over the whole Continent. Three years after Playa Girón, the imperialist policy of the United States government is becoming more and more aggressive, the US government policy is more and more openly reactionary and interventionist. It is therefore necessary to recognize the importance of this date, and to speak clearly.

For if those who attacked us at Playa Girón were reactionary, those who today govern the United States are even more reactionary.

Several months have passed since a man from the West of the United States took over the government of that country, after the assassination — the still strange and mysterious assassination — of the former President, who was undoubtedly a victim of the extreme right. And already the policy of this new President can be clearly seen.

Here are the facts: an internal dispute arises in Bolivia, and Mr. Johnson rapidly offers troops to solve an internal problem in Bolivia. A problem arises in Panama, and US troops ruthlessly fire on the Panamanian people. And Mr. Johnson, stubbornly, arrogantly, says that he is not ready to make the least concession, that he is not prepared to discuss any negotiation or any change in the agreements by which the United States is in possession of the Panama Canal, fruit of its piratical actions in earlier times, in the first years of this century.

A coup d'état takes place in Brazil, perfectly coordinated with the press campaigns of the most reactionary newspapers of the United States, a coup d'état clearly promoted and directed by the Pentagon and the State Department,

and a few hours after the coup d'etat, imperialist encouragement manifests itself, Mr. Johnson's message of support of the military coup in Brazil. The coup d'etat takes place and immediately afterwards, Mr. Falcón Briceño, representative of the puppet government of Venezuela, leaves on a tour of Latin American countries in a manoeuvre against our country, to promote aggression against our country.

The coup d'etat in Brazil takes place, and immediately the government of Panama finds itself obliged, because of US pressure, to renew diplomatic relations with the United States. And a few days after the renewal of relations, with no commitment on the part of the United States to revise the Canal Treaty, the US government in order to put even more pressure on the government of Panama, announces, that it is studying plans to build another Canal either in Colombia or in Costa Rica.

All these characteristic and related facts indicate, describe and define the policy of the United States government today.

We are speaking only of Latin America, not of Vietnam, of US conduct in other countries and on other continents. But once they appointed a gentleman called Thomas Mann to be in charge of Latin American Affairs at the State Department, a man who is a noted reactionary and an arch-enemy of our Revolution, the intentions of the US government toward Latin America became clear.

About two years after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, the government of the United States began to talk about plans of aid to Latin America, began to talk about the Alliance for Progress, began to talk about social reforms, Of course, never before had they spoken in the United States of Agrarian Reform for the Latin American countries, or of reforms of any kind! But after the Cuban Revolution took place, the fear that it inspired in that imperialist country caused it for the first time in its history, to begin to talk of social reforms, such as agrarian reform, educational plans, other reforms. They began to talk about the existence of enormous masses of landless peasants, and that this was fuel for revolution; and then, certain so-called

liberal elements who had some influence in the previous US administration worked out the whole project of an Alliance for Progress.

Of course, this was simply a trick, a deception of the people of Latin America, an ointment to try to cure the cancer of poverty on this continent. Basically it had no other purpose than to consolidate the political and economic control of the United States over Latin America.

But they changed their language: they talked about Alliance for Progress, and they talked about Reforms. Of course, the Alliance did not progress, it did not and could not advance. Basically, the so-called liberal elements within the United States were proposing a policy of Alliance with the so-called "middle classes" of Latin America, sacrificing the interests of the landholding oligarchies, which have been the ruling social class in the majority of Latin American countries.

The US government sought to ally itself with this "middle Class", which in some countries does not even exist. It spoke of a policy against reactionary military coups, in favor of a policy which it calls "representative democracy". That is to say, they suggested that it was in the interest of the United States to abandon its alliance with the oligarchies, with the right-wing militarists, and to encourage pseudo-democratic movements, of a civilian character and with some social reforms, sacrificing the interests of the landholding oligarchies.

It was more or less in these terms that they described or suggested their policy. But coups kept on taking place. In pseudo-democratic countries like Peru, Ecuador, Honduras or Argentina, the right-wing militarists, encouraged by the Pentagon, took power always under the same pretext of anticommunism. Even presidents like Frondizi (in Argentina), who were servile instruments of imperialism, were overthrown under the pretext that it was necessary to re-establish order, that it was necessary to avert the communist threat. The same thing happened in Ecuador, Honduras and Peru. The US State Department was then in a somewhat embarrassing situation — but that those gentle-

men are unaccustomed to contradictory and embarrassing situations — but these coups d'etat took place, and their policy then was to say that they would not recognize those governments immediately, that they would wait a while.

I almost forgot the case of Santo Domingo, where Juan Bosch had been elected President and was later overthrown by the right-wing militarists.

Since all this was in contradiction to the philosophy, or pseudo-philosophy, of the so-called Alliance for Progress, those who make US policy found themselves in an embarrassing situation. As a rule they waited for a short time, a few weeks or a few months, and then on one pretext or another recognized the governments that had resulted from coups d'etat against their allies; for after all, it was a fight between allies: their so-called representative-democratic allies and the right-wing militarists, both allies of US imperialism.

But when the death of President Kennedy took place — although President Johnson said he was going to follow the same policy, etc., etc. — it seems that the so-called liberal elements who had had some influence in the Kennedy administration were set aside. And the true intentions of the United States were revealed with the appointment of Thomas Mann to be in charge of Latin American Affairs.

Of course, their policy was not to be changed immediately, suddenly, but everything indicates that the influence the so-called liberal elements once had in the US government has been completely eliminated and has been replaced by a policy of the worst reactionary character. That is to say, the United States is returning to the policy of alliance with the most reactionary sectors; to the policy of support for military dictatorships and the most reactionary sectors; to a policy that drops the mask of pseudo-liberalism and pseudo-democracy and associates itself with the right wing militarists and most reactionary elements; to a policy of undisguised colonialism, a reactionary policy of the worst type.

And the events in Brazil show this: to say that Goulart was a communist is really ridiculous. The ousted President

of Brazil was trying to carry out a series of social reforms, the very reforms which the promoters of the Alliance for Progress hypocritically defend!

Brazil is a huge country, its population is growing extraordinarily fast; and it is a country plundered by US monopolies. Goulart did not carry out an Agrarian Reform like ours; he introduced certain measures which were essential to prevent the outflow of foreign exchange. He did not even ban the outflow of foreign exchange, he simply limited the profits that could be exported by US monopolies. He didn't proclaim a law against big landholdings in general, but only against big landholdings along the highways. He didn't nationalize all US enterprises, he only nationalized some public utilities and some oil enterprises.

However, President Goulart was overthrown by a reactionary coup, partly plotted by one of the most reactionary man on this continent, a gentleman who, as a solution to the problem of begging in Rio de Janeiro, where he is governor, proposed the physical elimination of beggars, who are very numerous as is only logical in any underdeveloped and exploited country — a fascist-minded gentleman, Lacerda, the Governor of the State of Guanabara, the "swine", as he is called.

Those elements, allied with the reactionaries within the Armed Forces carried out the military coup planned by the Pentagon and by the US State Department. These things have to be said clearly, cost what it may. If the imperialists think that we are going to keep our opinions to ourselves on this coup d'état, they are absolutely wrong.

What we must do is denounce the nature of the movement. What we must do is denounce the aims of that movement. The coup d'état was not only a blow against Brazil, it was a blow against the continent — a blow which, of course, is part of the longterm strategy of imperialism against Cuba.

It was a blow not only against Brazil but also against Cuba. It was a blow not only against Socialist and Revolutionary Cuba, it was a blow against the democratic movements, not even against a leftist movement, or a socialist

movement, or a communist movement. No, it was a blow against non-socialist, non-communist progressive forces.

It was a blow against the democratic movement in Chile, a country which is a source of serious concern for US imperialists; a country which they view with deep concern. They do not fear a revolution like the Cuban Revolution . . . No! They fear the election results; they fear a democratic solution in Chile.

It is a blow against the democratic movement in Argentina, a blow against the democratic movement in Mexico, since it is well known that Brazil and Mexico are two countries which firmly defended the policy of non-intervention and the right to self-determination.

The coup d'etat, aimed not only at Brazil but at the democratic movement on the continent, had as its goal the elimination of one of the pillars of that policy, to suppress one of the main sources of resistance to plans of intervention, not only against Cuba but also against Panama or any other country in Latin America. That is why it was essential for the imperialists to overthrow the Brazilian government, which was not socialist or anything like it, but a government which pursued an independent international policy and which firmly resisted US interventionist plans against Cuba and other nations of Latin America.

Immediately, the cables of the imperialist news agencies began to report that Brazil would now break with Cuba. They began to publish statements by Mister Lacerda and other reactionary elements saying that there would be a break with Cuba. They began to publish statements by the leaders of the coup saying that there would be a break with Cuba.

The US news agencies were jubilant; the reactionary elements were jubilant, emboldened, thinking perhaps that these events would intimidate and discourage us.

They thought, now that Brazil, a large and influential country, was going to favor a policy of intervention and aggression; now that Brazil had fallen into the hands of the right-wing militarists and fascists, they could jump on Cuba and that Cuba would be frightened.

THE YANKEE PROVOCATIONS

"Regarding: Provocations of U.S. marines at the land entrance to the US Naval Base.

"For your information, I respectfully submit a report on the following events:

"a) At six p.m. yesterday, two marines on guard at the US gate, and their interpreter, threw rocks at our soldiers when they were lowering our national flag, hitting one of our comrades on the arm. The marines passed some three meters beyond the dividing line.

"b) At 6:30 p.m. yesterday, a corporal and a soldier arrived at the US gate drinking alcoholic beverages, and offered drinks to the US guards who accepted them.

"c) At 6:50 p.m. a car with two exiles arrived at the US gate. The exiles brought alcoholic drinks and gave them to the marines who were on guard at the US gate.

"d) At 7:40 p.m. a woman exile arrived at the US gate in a car. She entered the sentry post and stayed there some five minutes, then left with the US marine who was acting as interpreter. The two went into a nearby wood, emerging a few minutes later.

"e) At 8:40 p.m. yesterday two exiles brought alcoholic beverages to the US marines at the US gate.

"f) At 9:35 p.m. yesterday eight US marines crossed the dividing line and came to our sentry post. One of them urinated against our flag pole, while the others uprooted several plants and carried off to occupied territory the rake we use for garbage; they also untied the cord of our national flag, leaving

it loose, while the others threw stones at our soldiers, hitting several of them.

.... "g) At 11 p.m. yesterday, US marines crossed the dividing line and approached our sentry post while throwing stones at our soldiers. These US marines, using a Garand rifle and a pick, broke open the door of our sentry post on the right hand side. Others went behind the sentry post and overturned a can of paint, while five marines began to hit another door in an effort to break it open. They failed to do so, because the door is made of iron, but they damaged it. Our sergeant in charge of the Border Battalion had to withdraw the sentries some 20 meters from the building, since the US marines crossed from the sentry post toward the main guard-house. Our sergeant also removed the telephone to prevent the marines from taking it or breaking it. The marines broke two doors of this building.

"h) At 12 midnight today, the US marines crossed the dividing line and entered our sentry post, taking away the hose that was in the bathroom, and throwing stones at our soldiers.

"i) At 12:35 a.m. today, a US marine crossed the dividing line with a Garand rifle in his hands, which he cocked and pointed at our soldiers.

"j) Just before he left the gate, the US marine who acts as interpreter told our soldiers that what they were going to do today, Sunday, would make our soldiers tremble.

.... "In relation to these provocations, it must be reported that they have been the most serious ever to take place at the entrance to the Naval Base. This is all I have to report up to the present".

THE FIVE POINTS

First: The cessation of the economic blockade and all the measures of economic and commercial pressure exercised against our country by the United States in all parts of the world.

Second: The cessation of all subversive activities, dropping and landing of arms and explosives by air and sea, organization of mercenary invasions, infiltration of spies and saboteurs, all acts launched from the territory of the United States and certain accomplice countries.

Third: The cessation of piratic attacks launched from bases in the United States and in Puerto Rico.

Fourth: The cessation of all violations of our air space and our territorial waters by U. S. military aircraft and ships.

Fifth: The withdrawal of the naval base at Guantánamo and the return of this Cuban territory occupied by the United States.

They may think that we tremble here, when they speak of severing relations with us; and that this would make aggression against Cuba easier.

These imperialist gentlemen think that the problem will be solved in the Organization of American States, in meetings, through votes, and that the people here are not going to fight.

They forget one thing; they forget that when they have finished hatching their plots, this is not the end of the problem, but the beginning. They forget that the problem of Cuba is not solved through right-wing militarists or plots, that when the time comes to eliminate the Revolution they will have to fight against us.

But then, that's another story, for we will not be moved by threats, OAS agreements, manoeuvres. By none of these things will we be moved.

What we are doing is improving our marksmanship and preparing. Let not the imperialist think they are going to intimidate us. Let them not think that we are frightened! They already made that mistake at Playa Girón, and if they have not learned their lesson, another Playa Girón, a hundred times worse, might happen to them!

It should be well noted that we, Cuban revolutionaries, the Majors of our armed forces, are not like some generals over there who first count how many soldiers the enemy has in order to decide whether or not they will fight. Some generals over there win their battles by counting: "How many soldiers do you have?" — "So many" — "Well, I have so many" — "So, you win".

Our revolutionary army was not formed like that. There was a time when, if we had been asked how many we were, the fingers of both hands would have been more than enough for the tally. And it was better not even to count how many the enemy were.

The whole history of the Revolution has been the history of a people defending themselves against an enemy superior in numbers. Our war was like that, the whole war. Often we had to resist a battalion, and we had only a squadron.

We never counted our enemies when the time came to fight. We can say to those enemies what the Spartans said when the Persian leaders told them that their arrows would darken the sun; the Spartans answered: "Good, then we will fight in the shade".

Therefore we are not frightened because the imperialists are numerous, because they are organizing an alliance of all the reactionary forces against Cuba. The events in Brazil don't disturb us. Do they speak jubilantly about the fact that they are going to break relations with us? Well, we will not shed tears over this break of relations. We are not going to beg for relations with rightwing militarists of any kind.

We are a people who act in accordance with our history, in accordance with our principles. And first and foremost we recall that after a tenth of March (Batista' coup in 1952) there came a 26th of July!

Our people, a people in arms; our armed forces, the armed forces of the people, cannot be compared in any way whatsoever to the armed forces that the imperialists organize as their instrument. Our armed forces, born in the revolutionary struggle, originating in the humble classes of the people, are the armed strength of this people against imperialism. It should not be forgotten that we have Revolutionary Armed Forces, for previously we defeated the armed forces which here, as in other parts of this continent, sound the interests of the imperialists. And this is **our** army. This is **our** navy. This is **our** Air Force. These are **our** combat units, this is **our** people.

The imperialists, in the case of the Cuban Revolution, face an armed people. Another good thing about our armed forces in that they have no generals; the highest rank is the rank of major. Here the imperialists will not have to fight against generals, they will have to fight another kind of man, another kind of soldier, entirely different, without generals who count numbers. Our people only count the bullets left in their cartridge belts!

Our Armed Forces are no longer simply an army with a guerrilla spirit; they are highly disciplined armed forces,

whose technical capacity is increasing every day, and they are well armed, very well armed. They know how to use those arms and they will know how to use them, better every day. They know that we don't have our weapons simply as decorations, but that we have them to be used without hesitation if the need arises.

It is good to say this, it is necessary to say it, because the imperialists are mistaken; in general, the imperialists — with their fascist superman mentality — think of the people of Latin America as a contemptible, hybrid people, who will not fight. They feel profound contempt for our peoples, a feeling that has been basically and severely shaken since the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, and above all since Playa Girón. These imperialists act like gangsters, like killers, like bullies; they believe that everyone is afraid of them; they mistake prudence, responsibility and serenity, for fear.

I'll tell you why I say this. I have here a communication from our Chief of Security in Oriente Province, in which he reports a series of unusual provocations that took place yesterday at Guantanamo Naval Base. I am going to read it word for word, just as we received it. (Fidel Castro reads text; see page 12).

Provocations of this kind, of this nature, carried out by groups, cannot be chance or isolated actions. These provocations, going on for hours, cannot be the work of undisciplined or drunken soldiers: they are instigated by their chiefs with the knowledge of the US government. Why? Because for a long time they have been committing an infinite number of provocations, violating our territory, harrasing us. And recently, when the Cuban Revolutionary Government protested against these provocations, the US State Department, with incredible cynicism, with characteristic brazenness, replied that according to their investigations the charge was false, and that the provocations had been committed by our soldiers.

Since our soldiers have never thrown a stone, since our soldiers have very precise instructions not to allow them-

selves to be provoked, since they are carefully chosen, very disciplined soldiers, and since the US government cannot be ignorant of what its own soldiers are doing there, if the US government replies in such a cynical manner it is clear that the provocations are deliberate and carried out with the knowledge of that government.

What are the imperialist trying to do? Are they trying to feel us out, to find out if we are discouraged, if we are frightened? Well, we seriously warn the US government that it is playing with the lives of the provocateurs.

Could it be that US government is planning an act of provocation in order to carry out an attack from the Base? Well, we remind them of Playa Girón, we remind them of the October crisis and the dangers which the irresponsibility, of the United States has created for mankind.

We are going to denounce these incidents in the United Nations. But here we will explain what we think.

Of course, these events show once again how right we were when we spoke of these problems during the October crisis and put forward our Five Points.

Two years have passed, and the imperialists stage provocations that are ever more serious; two years have passed, and the imperialists continue to violate our airspace openly, illegally and arbitrarily; slightly over two years have passed, and we cannot say that we have peace, we cannot say that the tensions and threats have ended. No! Not under these conditions!

We will denounce these incidents at the United Nations; we are going to warn world public opinion so that the truth may be known; so that the US Government may know that it is responsible for whatever may happen. Who is responsible for their aggressive acts, their provocations and the violations of our airspace? We have not authorized them, we have not approved them and we will not legalize them. We will not legalize these violations of our law and our sovereignty.

They are provoking us, and these incidents are simply intolerable. We are going to be calm, we will be calm. We will act both with intelligence and with courage; that is

how we will act. We will not act with intelligence alone nor courage alone.

How should our people act? With intelligence and courage. There will be no courage without intelligence nor intelligence lacking courage.

Our soldiers have resisted firmly because they have orders not to respond to provocations, but our men can very well put those fair-haired drunkards on the other side of the line with a kick in their behinds.

Right now, our soldiers have orders to be firm and not let themselves be provoked, but we warn the imperialists that moderation has a limit, serenity has a limit, that there are limits that cannot be transgressed, and they are coming dangerously close to those limits.

I am going to say, with all sincerity, what I think, what I feel, and what I believe this nation thinks and feels: we do not want war, we want peace, and we want is sincerely.

Lives are lost in war, men are lost; war brings grief and destruction. We love what we are building: our Revolution. We love what we are creating, the fruits of our labor, which we want one day to be reaped by our people. We want to see all the tens of thousands of young people who are today in technological and pre-university centers graduate from the University: we want to see our dreams come true in all fields. We want our people to harvest the fruits of their labor. We want this very much, we dream of this, and we say this from the bottom of our hearts. Men have fought and died for this; revolutions have been made for this.

But this involves risks. We would not have run these risks when we were slaves; when we were a colony dominated by imperialism; when a small group of privileged people had everything; when our people worked as slaves for US monopolies; when Negroes were treated like dogs, when our peasants suffered from hunger and untold misery in that world of privilege, injustice, abuse and ignorance.

That society did not involve such risks, but we did not accept that society; we wanted something else for our country.

It is not only we who have wanted it; everyone, from the very first man who shed his blood for this country, has wanted it. We want it as did all the men who in the course of a century shed their blood and sacrificed themselves for this land — and that implies risks.

Our people won, their Revolution won. We are masters of our own destiny. Badly or well, with more or less ability, with what is available of scarce material and technical resources, our people are marching forward and, with great sacrifice, are doing the job.

An enormous number of men of top quality are out of production to defend our country, on guard against its enemies; our people make great sacrifices; they have made and are making great sacrifices.

And for this reason, we want peace. We do not want destructions, we do not want death, we do not want mourning. We love this work deeply. Yes, we must say this, confess it, express it, because of what we are going to say now: in spite of the fact that we love the Revolution, and in spite of the fact that we want one day to see our dreams come true, if the price we have to pay is provocation such as this, if the price we have to pay is to fall on our knees, and sacrifice our dignity, our integrity, our honor, and our life of dignity — if peace is that kind of degrading peace, then we don't want that peace!

No theory, no doctrine, no revolutionary principle compels us to endure this. We are revolutionaries, but being a revolutionary implies the willingness to pay the price necessary to be a revolutionary. To want a better world implies the willingness to pay the price necessary for it. As for a degrading peace, the honorable peace of the tomb is a hundred times preferable. The honorable peace of those who fell at Girón!

I am saying this so that the imperialists may know, so that the world may know that we are not willing to tolerate certain things which go beyond admissible and tolerable limits. Rather than that we prefer to disappear as a Revolution, as a nation, and even as an island.

It is good for the imperialists to know this, to know what to expect. If they want to provoke a war, to create a

problem, they will have it; but perhaps it will be more serious than they expect! And if they want to wipe this island from the map, then let them get ready to do so, for we will be wiped out before we bow the proud honorable and heroic head of this nation!

If the imperialists think they are going to intimidate us with their shameless blackmail, with the exhibition of their might, we tell them that all might has a limit, and that this limit is where there is no fear, where fear ceases. This is the limit of all might! And we should say here, seriously and responsibly, that we will not tolerate such humiliations.

We are going to make this known to the world, we will denounce it in the Organizations where we need to denounce it, but we warn that we are not willing to tolerate these provocations and other violations of our rights — both the economic blockade and the open aggressions againsts our territory — cost what it may, and come what may!

Our country is ready to discuss peace with anyone. Our country is willing to discuss peace, but it is also ready to reply, as necessary, to things that cannot be tolerated!

This is why, comrades of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, we have to prepare ourselves, we have to perfect ourselves, we have to redouble the interest of our units, of our troops, in the study and handling of the weapons we have; we have to strengthen our technical and moral capacity for combat. For when we speak of combat, we mean to fight to the last bullet and to the last man; when we say we have to prepare ourselves, we mean to prepare ourselves for any contingency, any circumstance. And while we are learning to handle these weapons, we should remember that, unfortunately, we may have to use them to defend our country so that the efforts and sacrifices of our people will not be in vain.

If our enemies attack us, let them know what they will find. If our enemies attack us, their aggression will cost them very dear. If our enemies attack us, they will have to fight against men of such spirit and courage that they will understand once and for all what a proud and revolutionary people are. Let them know that they would have to pay with

tens and hundreds of thousands of lives for any attack on our country! That must be our spirit and our decision.

Yes, we are working for the future and we want peace. We want to harvest the fruits of our efforts one day, and these risks should not discourage us in creative work. Revolutionaries work for tomorrow, whether or not they will see that tomorrow. For those who advanced against the mercenary hordes that invaded us at Girón, those who met their death there, were fighting for an ideal, for a cause; they did not ask themselves whether they were going to see that cause triumph. Those who died in the war, before victory, did not ask themselves whether they were going to see that victory. And we do not need to ask ourselves that question, either.

We must work for the future, but always be ready to sacrifice everything for the future, to sacrifice every thing to defend the right to have that future.

For we not only must defend the future for which we are working but also the right to have that future. We must defend our right to this future with everything we have, and at any cost. And we will!

We will not be discourage. We will continue working on our economic plans, but we will continue strengthening our defenses. We will continue to love our work, but we will always be resolved to give everything for our right to that work and for the right of a proud people to carry their heads high.

The size of a nation is not important; what is important is the courage of a people, the honor of a people, the dignity of a people! We have more courage, more honor and more dignity than all the imperialists put together, than all the Pentagon generals put together!

That is what we think, and, we believe, what our people think. We will act in accordance whit this belief, we will run the risks we have to run. Let our enemies know this! We will run these risks without hesitation of any kind. There are things we will not tolerate.

I repeat: courage will be accompanied by intelligence. We must act with great intelligence, but our intelligence

will be accompanied by courage. There will be more than enough courage, when circumstances demand it, to support our determination and our conduct.

First we must warn the world, we must expose to the world the irresponsibility of the imperialists, the attitude of the imperialists, so that history may point to those who are responsible for what may happen, so that the whole world will know who is responsible for whatever may happen.

Let us be prepared, comrades; let us prepare our combat units, our land, sea and air forces, our land-to-air rockets! Let the imperialists be the ones to decide. If they want peace with our people, there will be peace. But if they want war, we are not afraid of war! We will not lose our calm, we will not hesitate to run any risks that may be necessary. This is how we think: this is how our people think, and how they feel.

We love life, but we do not hesitate to risk our lives, to sacrifice our lives for we love our cause, our country, and our ideals more than life itself.

And besides, we cannot think of life in any other way; a dishonorable life, an enslaved life is not life. To live in chains and in shame is not living. That is what our national anthem says, and that is what the imperialists will never impose on us, even with all their might; they will never be able to make us live in shame and humiliation.

By thinking this way we are rendering the most worthy tribute to our dead, to those who fell at Playa Girón, to those who fell in combat against the bandits, to those who fell in the struggle against the dictatorship, to those who fell in the struggle against Machado, to those who fell in our wars of independence. In this way we will be worthy of them.

Only those peoples who have the courage, decision and awareness to fight for their rights, to fight for their happiness have the right to enjoy happiness, to enjoy the future. We have won this right for ourselves, we have defended it; and we will defend it at any price!

We are the first Socialist Revolution on this continent, the first, and we say it with pride! We are the vanguard of this continent, the first country free of illiteracy of this

continent, the small country that will hold the first place in the fields of technology, culture and progress on this continent. Let no one doubt this; the efforts we have made in these five years, the progress we have achieved, guarantee our future. And the imperialists know it. There can be no progress in any country with an illiteracy rate of 60, 70 or 80 percent; abundance is not only a question of having instruments of labor, but also of having the capacity to operate those instruments of labor; of having technology. Amidst difficulties, aggressions, and blockades we have made extraordinary progress in the technical and cultural development of our people. Without this, there can be no progress.

What our people would be able to achieve in a few years, under conditions of peace, is unbelievable! The imperialists know this; hence their hatred of our Revolution, of our people. For our people are an example, and they want to destroy that example. But in their effort to destroy that example, it might be multiplied a thousand or a millionfold, for a people who fight for their freedom, a people who fight and die for their freedom, for their cause, for their ideals, are a true example, an inspiring example. It would not be surprising if the imperialists, in their effort to destroy the example, should multiply it a hundred or a thousandfold.

We are, and we will continue to be, an example. We will never be untrue to the faith placed in us by the exploited peoples of this continent and other continents, for their faith is not based on a lie, it is not based on a fraud, it is based on reality. We will never be untrue to the hope, to the confidence placed in our people, in the face of any danger, at any time, or under any circumstance.

It is my duty on a day such as this, to express these ideas, to express these feelings, to express this decision. And from the bottom of our hearts we can say with pride, with legitimate pride, with true loyalty to our dead: long live our heroes! Long live the heroes who died at Playa Girón! We will be faithful to their example, faithful to their memory!

Our Country or Death! We Will Win!

EMP. CONS. DE ARTES GRÁFICAS
[MIN. DE INDUSTRIAS]
UNIDAD 210-05
LINDEIRO Nº 1, LA HABANA

REPUBLIC OF CUBA

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

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FIDEL CASTRO:
this is our line...!

POLITICAL DOCUMENTS

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REPUBLIC OF CUBA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

FIDEL CASTRO:
this is our line...!

In this pamphlet, the Information Department publishes three important speeches explaining Cuba's position toward the treaty on partial prohibition of nuclear tests. The first speech is by the Prime Minister of the Cuban Government, Fidel Castro. The second is the address delivered at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1963 by the Cuban delegate to that organization, Carlos Lechuga. The third is the speech delivered by Major Fidel Castro on January 2, 1964.

This explanation would be reason in itself for publishing this pamphlet. But there are even more important reasons; for these speeches, particularly those of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, set forth the basic factors determining Cuba's foreign policy. This is clearly seen in the following excerpts from the Prime Minister's address on September 28, 1963, which follow a denunciation of recent agresions by United States imperialism:

"Clearly this situation determines our conduct. Clearly we will not calmly accept a situation in which tension increases for us while decreasing elsewhere. We do not want tensions to exist anywhere in the world. No! We are happy to see tensions lessen. But we cannot consider ourselves at peace with the imperialists, we cannot consider ourselves at peace with an imperialism that constantly increases its efforts to strangle us.

"And this situation will determine our international conduct. This is not a war policy; it is a peace policy, but we are not to be blamed for the war they are waging against us. We are not to be blamed for the iron blockade they are establishing against us.

"As a small country subject to a blockade, to attacks, victim of a policy of undeclared war, of pirate attacks, of the infiltration of saboteurs, of the smuggling in of weapons

and explosives, of the creation of bases to attack and kill us, no one can ask us to smile beatifically at our imperialist enemies.

"They are our enemies and we will know how to be their enemies. This situation will determine our policy on the international scene, in the United Nations and everywhere else. It will determine our attitude on the nuclear pact, and on denuclearization".

And later:

"Cuba has its own line, which corresponds to the particular conditions in which the Cuban Revolution has stepped into history, and the specific conditions of its geographic location in the world — its closeness to Yankee imperialism and its brotherhood with a continent exploited by that imperialism".

In his address to the United Nations General Assembly, Cuban representative Carlos Lechuga defined Cuba's position toward the Treaty on Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Tests:

"Cuba values highly whatever successes can be achieved on the difficult path to disarmament. Cuba supports the policy of peace of the Soviet Union, which has been the inspiration, no doubt, of its participation in the conclusion of the Treaty on Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Tests. Cuba is willing to exert as much effort as may be useful for the universal cause of peace. But Cuba cannot be a signatory to this Treaty while one of the signatory powers is carrying out, simultaneously with signing of the Treaty, a series of activities and is executing a policy toward our country which are bringing about what is in effect a state of undeclared war".

Referring to the Latin American proposal to establish a de-nuclearized zone on our continent, Ambassador Lechuga restated Cuba's policy of peace:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is in favor of whatever efforts may be made in order to create a system

of world security, but considers that the value of such a system is dependent on its being a system of security without exceptions or privileges for anyone.

"This is the position of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. We appreciate the good faith of the suggestions. We are willing to discuss them, but we establish, as irrevocable conditions for our final adherence to them, the necessity of a commitment by the Government of the United States to denuclearize the territories under its jurisdiction, such as the Panama Canal and Puerto Rico, and the dismantling and withdrawal of the U.S. military bases in Latin America, especially of the Naval Base at Guantánamo in our country."

Cuba, as a socialist country, pursues a foreign policy of peace. The forms this policy takes rise out of the historical circumstances in which the Revolution took place and the specific international situation confronting it at any given moment.

In dealing with these concrete conditions, the three documents published here will aid the reader in clearly understanding Cuba's foreign policy. Therein lies their great value.

Speech delivered by Major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government and First Secretary of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, on September 28, 1963, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

Distinguished members of the Delegations of the Seventh Congress of the International Union of Architects:

Comrades of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution:

This third anniversary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution coincides with an international event —The International Architects' Congress— which is an occasion for joy and a stimulus to the warm and hospitable sentiment of our people. First of all, therefore, we wish to greet all the delegations from throughout the world that have come to this Congress being held in Cuba.

This event is not political in character; it is technical and scientific. Regardless of the country of origin of the delegates participating in the Congress, regardless of the social system under which they live, of the political ideas they may have, all of them, absolutely all of them, as technicians and scientists, enjoy our warmest welcome and hospitality.

It was not easy, however, to prevent the enemies of our country from carrying through their plans to keep Cuba from being the site of this international event. And it was precisely due to the serious and firm outlook of the organization —a non-political organization— which had to decide on this question, that it was possible to hold this Congress in our country.

It should be repeated tonight that the doors of the Cuban nation are open, and will always be open to all visitors who come with peaceful intentions. It should be repeated tonight that our country forbids absolutely no one to leave or to visit other countries. It is good that this be said precisely on a day like today when a group of North American students have been indicted for having visited Cuba. This was published in today's cables, and apparently the shameless leaders and defenders of that policy, the policy of U.S. imperialism, have not even blushed.

That country calls itself democratic, calls itself powerful, cynically proclaims itself the standard-bearer of human rights, and it does not even allow the citizens of that so-called powerful country to visit a small neighboring country, which, of course, is not powerful in weapons, but is powerful in honor, dignity and morale!

For our country, of course, is not a nuclear power, but it is a moral power. And it is facts like the following that make it evident: the different attitudes, the different policies of two systems —a cowardly and decadent system and a young, vigorous and courageous system.

We have always practiced the policy of allowing full facilities to leave the country, and the imperialists made use of this in order to try to get hold of as many technicians as possible, to deprive our country of physicians, engineers, architects, professionals. Perhaps some people thought that the best policy would have been to forbid technicians to leave the country, but we always thought that this was not so; we always thought that we should preserve the right to leave for all those who did not wish to live in a world being created by the workers and farmers, by the humble people of Cuba. We believed that we were following the correct path, that of promoting education to the maximum, promoting study, eliminating illiteracy, building twenty thousand

new schools, increasing class attendance, developing the education of the people by every means, so that some day we would have technicians created by the Revolution, coming from the humble sectors of the country. And that policy is already bearing fruit, in spite of the fact that the Revolution won victory only four and a half years ago.

And the day is not far away when, because of the Revolution, as many technicians will graduate in a single year from the universities as all those borne off by imperialism in four years.

We endured that draining process. They thought they were weakening us, and in the end it was they who gave up that policy, it was they who gave up. For as far as Cuba was concerned, they opened the doors of the United States to every one who wanted to leave our country. Before the Revolution there were enormous lines in front of the United States Embassy, lines of unemployed men and women who wanted to leave the country to find work in other lands, in the United States; but then the number was restricted; no more than 10 thousand were given permission to enter. When the Revolution triumphed and they tried to weaken our nation, they opened their doors, without restriction, to all who wanted to leave, they promised to educate their children, to give them subsidies; they offered them jobs, they did unprecedented things in carrying out their campaign against the Revolution.

But after 1959 the lines before the Embassy were no longer composed of the unemployed. They were composed of those who had been affected by the Revolution —in the first place, the big landholders, the bourgeoisie, some of the petty bourgeoisie, and some members of the labor aristocracy, mainly those who enjoyed privileges under imperialism while hundreds of thousands of families could eat only one meal a day.

Of course, those who had enough money to buy everything without limitation, who could buy luxury goods of every kind, bought with the foreign exchange reserves of the Republic, could not resign themselves to a situation in which the country's resources had to be placed at the service of everyone, which therefore meant restrictions for those few who used to live in abundance.

The type of emigration from our country changed. But the emigration was not stopped until the imperialists, changing their policy, though it was more profitable for them to prevent people from leaving.

Of course, the imperialists are not only characterized by their great viciousness, but very often by their great stupidity as well. They talk about social classes; for instance, they talk about developing certain social classes in Latin America to serve as a brake on the Revolution. Sometimes they accept the Marxist concept of social classes, but they deny the role that social classes play in history, in the development of history, and, of course, they bore off the bourgeois class to the United States.

They thought that in this manner they would ruin the Revolution, that they would cause great harm, but what they did was to take away their own social class, their counterrevolutionary army. And they came to the conclusion that the time and come to stop the people from leaving the country. They thought this would promote discontent; and once again the imperialists were wrong.

When vacillating and cowardly people, afraid of the risks of a revolution, unable to face the risks involved in a revolution, knew that they would be freely admitted to the United States, many of them even tried to black-mail the enterprises where they worked, and said, "If you do not agree, all right, I will leave". They had their passports ready. Many of them already

resigned from their jobs to leave the country, forgetting José Martí's words about the "turbulent and brutal North".

They wanted to profit from this chance to leave the country, and they even used it to do harm.

What happened when the United States government stopped entry to that country, in the hope that this would promote discontent? How wrong they were! Many of these potential counterrevolutionaries, these petty "worms," and I regret having to call them "worms", even once, since they have to co-exist with us here, began to adapt when they were not allowed to enter the United States. Far from the discontent that the imperialists had hoped to promote, a process of adaptation began for many people who had not adapted before while they had the hope of leaving for the United States.

And then they went back very meekly to ask for their old jobs, which they had left with scorn; jobs that very often were highly paid.

But we never practiced a policy of restrictions, not even now, in spite of what the imperialists did, when they not only stopped their own airlines, but also tried to stop other airlines from coming here.

But every so often the imperialists have their own contradictions and clash with the interests of other companies, for the United States monopolies want to control everything. But there are other commercial enterprises in the western and capitalist world, transportation companies, airline companies. And they wanted to stop these companies from coming to Cuba as they are doing with merchant ships; they compete with these companies, and they want to stop them from coming here.

Some companies and some nations resisted firmly. Their lines are still functioning and through them some people continue

leaving the country—those who can afford the fare, because we are not going to pay it for them, are we? Although in some cases it really would be better to do so, for there are certain parasites around here who consume and consume, and produce nothing. But instead of using dollars to pay for such a person's trip to Spain, which is very expensive, it is really better to invest that money in buying agricultural machinery or any other kind of working equipment.

This goes to show how different is the attitude of our Revolution and our attitude as revolutionaries, because even while forced to defend ourselves from the attacks of a powerful country, we practice and uphold measures and principles which are a thousand times higher than the principles and policy practiced by the imperialists.

Here, for instance, we do not find the racial problems they have in the United States. I ask all the visitors gathered here from all over the world—and of course I am not trying to indoctrinate them in any way, but they happened to be present here on an occasion when we have to discuss these problems with our people—whether they do not find it interesting that here, in this nation, among the people, in our schools, in our hospitals, in our theaters, at our beaches, in our recreation centers, in our work centers, in our cultural centers, there is not the slightest shadow of that discrimination which was so prevalent in our country before. For here it was the imperialists who set the standards and who taught us their vices, their hatreds, their grudges, their prejudices, which result from their society.

Of course, the Yankee imperialists are trying to fool the world; and that is what their government tries to do when it adopts a self-recriminating attitude, saying that they do have these problems but that they are fighting them. And those who have lived through the experience of a revolution and know how

to distinguish between past and present, know that these prejudices, these hatreds and evils are the consequence of the prevailing social system; that they are the hatred of the exploiters for the exploited, the ideas inculcated by a society of wolves in which man is man's worst enemy, the exploiter and degrader of man. They know that racial discrimination will not disappear from the United States until imperialism and capitalism disappear from there, until the exploitation of man by man disappears.

For the American Negroes are the descendants of the former slaves for whose freedom many white Americans fought and died. They then became slaves without chains, but just as enslaved as they were before the abolition of slavery; they were serfs of the landholders, day labourers of the landholders, doing the worst, most brutal and most dangerous jobs, without political or social rights.

For that social system forced these men to continue living in the same exploited condition under capitalism. And as long as this social system continues to exist, the condition of the Negro in the United States will continue to be the same. And the United States Negroes, as well as many whites, the workers of the United States, the progressive people of the United States, will day by day gain a better understanding of the evils inherent in an inhuman system, evils that will last as long as this inhuman social system of exploitation lasts. They will begin to realize that regardless of the wealth and technology developed in that country, there are intolerable living conditions for millions and millions of human beings.

And, of course, a demagogue like Kennedy will never be able to deal with this problem. He is only trying to win votes with it. For these demagogues always think that their selfish interests come before their country, and to Kennedy, being President is more important than the United States. His business

is to win votes, while the brutal acts of murder and terrorism continue. Those who murdered four Negro children in a church, in an act of terrorism, have not yet been punished, nor have we read that they have even been captured. And that is life in that so-called civilized country.

It is logical that the imperialists want to prevent visits to Cuba. It is true that we lack many things here, it is true that we do not have the luxuries —nor will we have them for some time—which they have through the exploitation of other countries. We lack many things, because among other reasons, we are resisting; there are no luxuries for exploiters; because today we are dedicated to creative work and to the building of our future. We must use our resources and invest our efforts not in bric-a-brac, but in building a solid future. Nobody has built it for us, and we must build it ourselves. And we have to build it so that future generations may reap the fruits of the work of this generation.

Yes, we lack many things. But there are things here that will never be seen there, in the heart of imperialism:

A united nation, a united people, brotherhood of Negroes and whites. This cannot be seen there.

It is logical for the U.S. State Department to be interested in preventing North American youths, workers, Negroes from seeing this and asking themselves how it is possible, when we too had this evil under capitalism, under the system of exploitation of man by man. And when the exploitation of man by man ended as an institution, that evil and many other evils, which we are not going to mention now, ended.

If anyone visits certain cities such as Las Vegas, New York, and, in general, any U.S. city and then comes to our capital, the contrast will be impressive; he will not find roulette wheels,

he will not find gambling houses, he will not find gambling at all or drug addiction—the daily bread of the imperialists.

(At this moment a small explosion was heard near the Plaza).

Don't worry about that. We do not know whether it is a bomb, or something else. But if it is, it means that the "worms" are celebrating the Third Anniversary. That is all right, it is fitting for them to do so.

You see, there has not been an explosion in this capital for many months. And the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution were born on a day when the counterrevolutionaries set off three small bombs while a rally was being held. And we said, "Do you want to test the might of an organized people? All right we will organize the people". And everyone knows that when the people were organized the counterrevolution was crushed, and that the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution did not let the counterrevolution operate any longer.

They have had hundreds of tons of explosives, supplied by the imperialists, all types of explosives. For in the United States there is an industry, developed by the C.I.A., manufacturing the most modern devices to destroy and kill, manufacturing all types of inflammable and explosive materials. But in spite of that, they have not been able to do anything. And they have had plenty of weapons.

What happened? The bourgeoisie left. All their mansions on the outskirts of Havana have been converted into homes for scholarship students, into schools, into revolutionary institutions. After the Committees were created, the counterrevolutionaries could no longer move an inch. These committees represent the people, organized, watchful, have become a mighty force in the defense of their own cause! This can only happen in great moments of history, in the greatest hours of the people.

And those three small bombs gave rise to this formidable mass organization. And, naturally, the counterrevolutionaries recall that occasion, and we understand this as a tribute to our success.

Of course, class struggle has not disappeared in our country. We still have an urban and rural bourgeoisie: it exists, it does not coexist, but it will not exist in the future. It exists today, but this is temporary, because the Revolution is marching firmly on.

We have seen, for example, the great resources at the disposal of counterrevolutionaries, how they do business, how the C.I.A., has funds. They make agreements with bourgeois elements here, who turn over their money to C.I.A. agents, and the C.I.A. deposits dollars for them in the United States. There are bourgeois elements who are still exploiting labor, and who still have considerable resources and privileges. Of course, these are in the process of disappearing.

We know the plans of our enemies. But they are no secret; our enemies publicize with extraordinary cynicism their plans to infiltrate so many thousands of weapons, to infiltrate saboteurs, terrorists, to carry out pirate attacks and invasions.

The imperialists never learn from experience; they never profit by their defeats. They make mistakes; again they are underestimating our people.

They speak of a campaign to undermine and weaken our Revolution; they speak of creating discontent through their economic blockade, but what they strengthen through this is the patriotism of the Cuban nation. What they strengthen in the first place, is hatred and scorn for the imperialist criminals; what they strengthen is the dignity and grandeur of the Cuban nation, the heroism of the Cuban nation, especially since we know that this is a battle between the past and the future, a battle against time.

The imperialists think that they will be able to crush the Cuban Revolution, and the Cuban Revolution thinks that the peoples will crush imperialism first! The imperialists think that the Cuban Revolution will be destroyed, and we, the revolutionaries, think that many other revolutions like ours will arise on the continent.

The imperialists make no progress in their plans. At the end of almost five years of revolution, what progress have they made against us? And yet, how much progress the peoples of Latin America have made against them! What is happening to the "Alliance for Progress"? What is happening to all their so-called representative democracies? What is happening to all those puppet governments?

What happened to Frondizi, to Prado, to Arosemena? What has happened to them? What happened to Ydigoras? There are so many that we cannot remember them all. What has happened to the imperialists' policy? They are in crisis, they are in total bankruptcy. Do nations progress with the "Alliance for Progress"? No. Reaction progresses, right-wing military groups progress, and military coups follow one another with amazing speed, and the pro-imperialist groups, the imperialists' puppets, are split by their own contradictions, and so-called democratic institutions clash with military institutions.

Officials of the State Department claim that they want to have free, democratic governments. Free from what? Free like Frondizi? Free like Ydigoras? Free like Arosemena, who because he said something unpleasant to a U.S. Ambassador, was deposed on the following day? Free like Santo Domingo, where the Trujillo generals overthrew the government in less than eight months after it took office?

And thus they go from crisis to crisis. The military coup in Santo Domingo exposes the failure of imperialist policy, the insur-

mountable contradictions of imperialism, which becomes more and more entangled as it stews in its own juice.

And now, some newspapers write editorials expressing their amazement, wondering what can be the meaning of this coup. However, this coup was predetermined. The Dominican Revolution was frustrated by imperialism, which stationed its warships in front of Santo Domingo to block the development of the revolution, concocted a compromise and saved Trujillo's army. Imperialism saved the army that had oppressed the people for 30 years. What kind of democracy can be built on that basis? On that basis, what security is there for any regime?

It is logical that if a government like the one in Santo Domingo takes power and is unable to get rid of the militarist, it is completely hamstrung, especially if it even suggests a moderate policy, as was the case with Bosch.

Bosch deserves a little more respect than the others. Why? Perhaps he defended us? No, he had great weaknesses, he took office with the approval of the imperialists, who thought that he would be like Romulo Betancourt. But he was not Romulo, who is still in power, of course. He has not been over-thrown, for he has sold even his soul to the imperialists: he murders workers, murders students, persecutes the people. Why would the imperialists want to put a right wing militarist in power there when they have Romulo, who is the most right wing of all?

But that was not Bosch's policy, his policy was not like that of the Somozas', the Romulos', and the worst imperialist puppets, characterized by their hatred toward Cuba, their anti-Cuban policy. Bosch devoted himself to the problems of his country, had a prudent attitude, and that cost him his post.

And what did the Trujillo generals do? They said. "We are anti-communists, we are anti-communists, we have taken

power to save our country". How these phrases remind us of the 10th of March, of the same proclamation by Batista. It's always the same story, the same pretext.

And what are the imperialists going to do? They are stewing in their own juice and the right-wing militarists are taking power, with the support of the United States militarists. For in the United States too there are both civilian and military reactionaries: the right-wing militarists of the Pentagon support right-wing governments in military uniform, and the reactionaries in the State Department support right-wing governments in civilian clothes. They have their own internal contradictions, and these contradictions are reflected in the Latin American countries.

And there are the people of the Dominican Republic, once again under the military keel, once again under a reign of terror. But what a lesson, what a great lesson for the Dominican people and for all peoples, that there is only one way, only one remedy: to eliminate the militarists, to fight the militarists, to defeat the militarists and shoot their leaders.

The path of the revolution, the path followed by Cuba, although it may be long and hard, is the only path that promises the peoples a secure future, a great and stable future. For how can there be a stable government, how can there be progress in any of those countries constantly shaken by revolts and coups? How can there be progress in underdeveloped exploited countries, impoverished by gangs of politicians and militarists, where the illiteracy rate is sometimes as high as 80%? How can any country advance on those paths? And what can be seen in those countries? A growing population and an economy spiraling downwards in relation to that population.

And what is amazing, what should make us all feel proud, is to see how, although we have that huge empire confronting us, trying to crush us, Cuba marches forward, Cuba progresses.

Cuba is resisting; Cuba is building its future, while its sister nations, the majority of the people in those nations, go from crisis to crisis, amidst ever greater hunger, and follow the downward path of poverty, without a future.

We are enduring the difficulties of the present in order to have a secure future. This is not so with the other countries. How can they even speak of industrial development when 70% to 80% of the population is illiterate, when the development of industry requires a nation of educated workers with a high technical level? The first thing in this respect is to learn to read and write, and this was our path.

In the last few days the imperialists have said that we have abandoned our plans for industrialization.

Of course, after they have told the world so many lies, what do a few more lies matter to them, lies told by imbeciles and meant for other imbeciles?

And so we were not surprised to see an article in a falangist sheet, published in Barcelona, stating that Cuba has abandoned her plans and is going to concentrate on agricultural products. And some U.S. commentators said the same thing, based on our statement that in this decade we must, above all, develop our agriculture, make a careful study of our resources and invest them in those branches that yield most rapidly, permitting great industrial advance at the proper moment. We spoke about the industries we should build first as well as about the development of our agriculture, of our program for animal husbandry and sugar production.

They clapped their hands, they said we were abandoning our plans for becoming an industrially developed country and were to remain an agricultural country. And they announced this. Of course, this is far removed from what our country proposed to do.

What is really happening is that as the years go by we have been gaining much more experience, a much clearer view of our resources, our possibilities. All the people, all the revolutionary cadres, have gained experiences. We see things much more clearly. It is not now as it was at first when subjectivity and personal tastes were influential, rather than serious objective analysis, rather than the responsible attitude to be seen today at all levels, the growing seriousness, the implacable struggle against irresponsibility, the implacable struggle against carelessness, against waste and continued error.

Today we have a much clearer view of our possibilities and a much better idea of how to invest our resources. We know what sugar means for us as a source of foreign exchange. We know of the exceptional potentialities of our agriculture which, with our climate, can surpass that of highly developed countries, greatly surpass it. Every day we see this more clearly.

And here is a source of resources, not only to meet our needs, but to develop the whole economy, to develop our industry, based on the principle of the most rational use of our human resources, our economic resources, our natural resources, based on the principle of the international division of labor, so as to guarantee maximum productivity, maximum benefit, from the effort of each Cuban worker.

And thus, our way to industrialization, the path we must follow in our industrialization, becomes much clearer to us. Because under these conditions some industries will have priority over other industries. There are basic industries like electric power, whose development can be seen in the huge thermoelectric plants now being built, some of which are very advanced. There is an extensive program for the development of hydraulic works and an extensive program for factory construction.

Naturally, the first plans laid at the beginning of the revolution did not employ resources in a 100% rational way; they contained many mistakes. But these mistakes are being corrected as we progress. And when we study our investments and development plans each year, we are more and more successful in applying the policy of employing each cent in a more rational and productive way.

At the same time we discovered the extraordinary and unbelievable potentialities of our country, which only require adequate organization and technology, seriousness and responsibility.

We have to demand this constantly, for our potentialities are really extraordinary: What we have to do is to know how to take advantage of them, to struggle tirelessly to do so, and we will see how we overcome our difficulties. We will see how in a relatively short period of time we make extraordinary advances and strengthen our economy, which means strengthening the revolution, strengthening our position against imperialism, against the enemies and detractors of the revolution, strengthening the influence and prestige of the Cuban Revolution on the continent.

Some spokesmen for imperialism are beginning to admit that our economy is making headway. They are beginning to see signs of progress in our economy. They are beginning to see that we have already passed through the most difficult stages.

But we should not be satisfied with this. Our people should be satisfied only when we utilize our exceptional potentialities and resources to the maximum, when we know how to utilize them and do so. During these years we have received great help, exceptional help, from the socialist countries. But this does not mean that we should get used to this idea. This help has been decisive. It came in the most difficult moments, in the

moments when we had least experiences. But we must keep in mind that we are not to solve our problems through trade disbalance. No. This would be unworthy of us; it would really be shameful. A country with potentialities such as ours, with natural resources such as ours, cannot really be satisfied except when it is doing its utmost, and doing it well.

I am not referring to the people, who are always willing to cooperate; I am referring to every citizen at every level of administration.

Cuba, which has a trade disbalance of over one hundred million dollars with the Soviet Union, must consider doing its utmost to put an end to this situation in the shortest possible period of time.

The difference between becoming accustomed to trade disbalances and becoming accustomed to production, to producing what we need and obtaining the resources needed for development, is the difference between the mentality of a revolutionary and truly hardworking people, and the mentality of a parasitic people.

It was all very well for us to have received such extraordinary help in our days of greatest difficulty and least experience, but it is time for us to start thinking about drawing the resources we need from our own hands, from our efforts, our work, our intelligence, our organization.

It is true that we still face the imperialist blockade; it is true that the imperialists try to tighten the blockade, and we do not know how long we will have to resist this situation. But we will resist! We will never lower our revolutionary flag! Our nation will never be forced to its knees! We will face any risks that may be necessary as long as may be necessary. We will face any sacrifices that may be necessary as long as may be

necessary. For we assume full responsibility for our actions, our history, our Revolution.

As slaves, we had nothing to lose but our chains, and we have broken those chains! And though we may have the scars of those chains on our ankles, we cannot be held back.

I said that it is true there is an iron blockade and that the imperialists are trying to apply more and more pressure. It is even true that while tensions ease in other parts of the world, while tensions lessen in other parts of the world, the Yankee imperialists are trying to tighten their blockade of Cuba and to make it even more ruthless. And it is evident that they have stepped up this policy in recent months.

And thus we see how a shameless government such as the Greek Government, in short, a mere satellite of Yankee imperialism though so many miles away, has been cowardly enough to forbid its ships to come to Cuba.

Thus imperialism is trying to close in on Cuba, even when pressures are lessening in other parts of the world.

Clearly this situation determines our conduct. Clearly we will not calmly accept a situation in which tensions increase for us while decreasing elsewhere. We do not want tensions to exist anywhere in the world. No! We are happy to see tensions lessen. But we cannot consider ourselves at peace with the imperialists, we cannot consider ourselves at peace with an imperialism that constantly increases its efforts to strangle us.

And this situation will determine our international conduct. This is not a war policy, it is a peace policy, but we are not to be blamed for the war they are waging against us. We are not to be blamed for the iron blockade they are establishing against us.

As a small country subject to a blockade, to attacks, victim of a policy of undeclared war, of pirate attacks, of the infiltration

of saboteurs, of the smuggling in of weapons and explosives, of the creation of bases to attack and kill us, no one can ask us to smile beatifically at our imperialist enemies.

They are our enemies and we will know how to be their enemies. This situation will determine our policy on the international scene, in the United Nations and everywhere else. It will determine our attitude on the nuclear pact, and on denuclearization.

And we will know how to resist, for we have sufficient pride, sufficient dignity, sufficient courage, sufficient heroism and sufficient spirit of sacrifice.

The imperialists try to intrigue around the Cuban position; and the Cuban position is first of all, anti-imperialist.

What is our line? A line of consistent anti-imperialism —basically, a line against Yankee imperialism.

In other words, we are in a particular situation: the enemy is there, 90 miles away, harassing us, blockading us, menacing us, trying to destroy us. Our line is the line of struggle against that enemy. It is our line. Cuba has its own line, which corresponds to the particular conditions in which the Cuban Revolution has stepped into history, and the specific conditions of its geographic location in the world —its closeness to Yankee imperialism and its brotherhood with a continent exploited by that imperialism.

These are the circumstances that determine our conduct and our line, the line of our Party and our people, which are and will be closely united. For we can worthily represent this nation, the sentiments of this nation, the history of this nation, of this people, the grandeur and dignity of this people. With a people such as ours, we can well face any situation, no matter how

difficult. With a people such as ours, we will well be able to face any problem victoriously.

We are by now veterans of a long, hard struggle, of which we are proud, of which we will never have to be ashamed. No people ever repent or are ashamed of being worthy and brave, of being heroic, of being resolute, of being bold and patriotic. And we will win, for this is the hour of the peoples, the hour of the rebellion of the peoples, when the peoples of all continents are shaking off the yoke of the empires and digging the grave of the exploiters.

This is a problem of the struggle of the peoples. And the peoples are ready, marching and struggling!

And the news we receive from everywhere, the news brought by the cables on the growing struggle of our sister peoples of Latin America is more and more encouraging.

We must know how to react to our concrete situation, our particular situation. We must know what are our duties, our duties towards the economy, our duties towards the defense of the revolution. We must know this now, as imperialism is trying to strangle us. We must know this now as the imperialists launch their counterrevolutionary offensive. We are not intimidated by this; we are by now veterans in that struggle. We know how to treat them, we know how to counter their attacks and plans. We know their plans all too well, and these plans will fail as all have failed.

But we must know our duties in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary offensive of imperialism. We must know our duties in the struggle for the economy: with rifle and tools, tools and rifle. We need both of these to bring about victory. We need both to build our future; we need both to build our history. We must fulfill our duties, we must exert ourselves to

work better, we must use the resources we have and those we are creating. And you know the importance the revolution places on the training of the younger generation. You will remember that even in the difficult days of invasion, when the enemy was attacking our coasts with their expedition of mercenaries, the first tens of thousands of students were beginning to teach in the campaign against illiteracy, everything went in to the struggle then, everything went on to a war footing, everything —except for one thing,, the campaign against illiteracy.

Education, the training of cadres, industrialization, is not a thing of two or three years. Our engineers, tens and tens of thousands of technicians of all kinds, are still in the first years of the university, in junior or senior high school. And we are forced to wait, we need time to reap the fruit of this effort, and we must be able to think in terms of time.

Each of us must fulfill his duty, keeping in mind what this means: our duties and the duties of the youth being trained by the revolution; the duty of each of us, the continuing work of a nation, the continuing work of a revolution; the duties corresponding to each stage of the the Revolution.

And we are satisfied and proud that the stages of work and struggle, of hard work and struggle, fell to us. This will always be our greatest satisfaction, and it will be the pride of coming generations, for whom in essence, we are preparing the future. We must be able to fulfill our duties towards our country, our duties towards the world, in the assurance that we are capable of fulfilling those duties, that we have a great people with us. The hope that many humble and exploited people have placed in us, will never be disappointed. Cuba's role today, its gigantic struggle in the face of the powerful Yankee empire, its example and stimulus to the whole continent, is a role it plays because is is capable of doing so. It was not by accident, but

due to their exceptional qualities, that the Cuban people are playing this role.

And these are the Cuban people! Millions of people, who, like the men and women present here, work and struggle in all corners of our country, who, with their enthusiasm and faith maintain the vigor and strength of the revolution, and withstand the onslaughts of Yankee imperialism. These are our people! They are never to be confused with the cowards who flee, with these who sell out to the enemy! They are never to be confused with them! These are our people, examples of dignity and patriotism, examples of courage, heroism, and spirit of sacrifice. These are our people. They are building the history of Cuba, the Cuba that today is known throughout the world, not the Cuba of yesterday, but the respected, admired, firm and heroic Cuba of today, the victorious Cuba, the Cuba of always, the unconquered and invincible Cuba of the Revolution, the Cuba that has taken to its heart the slogan of: **OUR COUNTRY OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!**

*Address by Carlos Lechuga Hevia, permanent
representative of Cuba to the United Nations,
delivered on October 8, 1963, at the Eighteenth
Session of the General Assembly.*

Mr. President:

I wish to begin these words with a message of thanks to the representatives of those countries who have preceded me on the rostrum and who have directly mentioned the complex of circumstances that surround the so-called Cuban case and warned about the threats to peace caused by the constant and uninterrupted military and economic pressure on our country. In the same way, I wish to thank those who, without directly mentioning Cuba—surrounded and besieged, yet more alive than ever—have proclaimed her right to live in peace.

Our delegation would like to join unreservedly in the current of opinion prevailing in the Assembly, which views today's international situation with high hopes. Nothing would be more welcome to the people of my country, who have to live in a constant state of vigilance, ready to defend with their lives their right to work in a society organized for their full welfare and happiness. Nevertheless, the realities we confront do not permit us to have such great optimism. The atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy that now, as last year, envelops the Caribbean region, leads us to see a different picture, the product of actual deeds and unfortunate circumstances, involving nothing less than the protection of our independence and sovereignty. This, therefore, is not a case of speculative analyses or fantastic visions. Cuba,

a member state of the United Nations, is the victim —and continues to be the victim— of a disturbing policy of intervention in its internal affairs and of large-scale aggression on the part of another member state, the United States of America, in violation of the fundamental precepts of the San Francisco Charter. Therefore, we have come here once again to expose the lies and hypocrisy and to bring out the gross contradictions between verbal adherence to the constitutional documents of the Organization and the events which make a mockery of those principles. Nor will we neglect our duty to offer our opinion on the other problems that call us together, for they all affect us in one way or another.

From an overall point of view we can state that the matters included in the full agenda of the present session contain, almost without exception, the problems that concern the world. In studying and discussing them, the task of our delegation will be linked to the efforts to achieve a stable and true peace for mankind, without concession to exploitation, aggression, misery and subjugation. We will cheer every action dedicated to the right of all peoples to administer and benefit from their resources. We will work for an end to the domination of foreign monopolies in underdeveloped countries; for an acceleration of the historic process of the liquidation of colonialism and the unmasking and halting of neo-colonialism; for an end to foreign military bases, centers of provocation, subversion and dangerous tensions; for full freedom of trade; for an end to racial discrimination.

On the agenda under our consideration, the problem of peace is, of course, the one that attracts the most profound attention and excites the most interest, for not in vain does it encompass all the others. It is a subject that is ever present on the agenda of the Assemblies, and although some steps have now been taken towards its partial solution, it is no less true that we are still

far from having attained a situation that satisfies our aspirations. Military aggression and economic exploitation, coercion, blackmail and threats are becoming increasingly serious in many parts of the world; this, obviously, is not a picture into which tranquility and harmony can fit.

Clearly there is no path more fraught with obstacles than that which leads to peace. To overcome these obstacles is a difficult, complicated task, which requires sacrifice, deep convictions, and time.

In the case of Cuba we know quite well that the subject of discussion is not abstract peace, the peace invoked by the imperialist powers, the peace exalted in speeches and the peace that is spoken of in the Charter and is yet unknown, but a peace which permits us productive work without daily concern about attack from abroad. For, we ask ourselves, how can peace exist for the Cuban people while we are besieged by a great Power anachronistically bent on destroying our liberating revolution? Is it a state of peace when our workers must work with their rifles at their sides, our farmers must till the earth with their rifles at their sides, and our students must have their rifles by their books in order to defend their land?

We cannot lose sight of the fact that the peace for which we must work without respite, the true peace, for which so many millions of human beings have died, which is yearned for by the masses of all continents, which is desired by all Latin Americans, is that peace whose existence signifies the complete emancipation of the peoples, the elimination of the roots of economic injustices, of territorial ambitions, of distorted cultures.

The ending of colonialism and the initiation of economic development, which are the other two great points on the agenda, are closely related to the subject of peace; they are tightly knit; they are inter-dependent. No demonstration is needed of the fact

that the stubbornness of the colonial powers in blocking the path of independence of the peoples generates conflicts, and that hunger, haunting innumerable homes the length and breadth of the planet, makes fertile ground for the seeds of war. This is illustrated in the drama of the Viet-Nameese people, victims of United States military intervention, and in the maneuvers of the insatiable financial consortiums to assure themselves advantageous positions in the exploitation of the peoples; with their intrigues, they create areas of tension, sensitive spots precariously balanced between a false and superficial peace and an open conflagration of incalculable consequences.

It is our belief that the United Nations continues to be a forum of exceptional importance for the airing of the basic problems of our age, and that the new vitality that has come into it with the incorporation of several dozen nations which have achieved their independence since the Second World War is an exceptionally dynamic factor, which promises to open more and more possibilities of the Organization to fully perform its tasks. The imperialist powers, and especially the government of the United States, have sufficient control over the mechanism of this institution to hinder, block, halt or adulterate —according to the case and circumstances— the just aspirations for economic development and independence of the peoples who continue under the colonial yoke; but it is evident that the positive forces within the United Nations are steadily overcoming this control. The road has been long and continues to be full of difficulties, for the imperialist countries resist facing a world that is not suited to their image and arranged for their benefit. However, some obstacles have already been removed, and the tendency that works against the imperialists and on behalf of the peoples is irresistible.

A palpable example of those means still at the disposition of the United States government to hinder the free functioning of

the Organization is the question of the legitimate representation of the Chinese people. Seven hundred million human beings lack a voice in our deliberations, despite the fact that everyone is aware that, as long as the government of the People's Republic of China does not occupy its rightful seat, it will be impossible to speak of the universality of the United Nations, or to state categorically that this is a center for the promotion of international cooperation.- The fact still exists, without solution, proclaiming from year to year the frustration of the principles of the Charter.

There is further demonstration of this frustration in the case of our sister nation of Puerto Rico. It is well known that the United States has maneuvered to conceal the tragedy of that Latin American people from the United Nations. These maneuvers culminated in their failure to provide information on that territory —which they are obliged to do by Article 73 of the Charter— even though Puerto Rico has not attained self-government. Let us consider the facts, and let us not deceive ourselves, for outside this hall we fool no one.

In Puerto Rico there is a colonial regime that exhibits all the characteristics of colonial domination. Or is the term perhaps not applicable to a people who have been absorbed economically, against whom every attempt has been made to distort their true nationality, who have no foreign service, who lack the means for self-defense, who have neither a postal system nor customs nor emigration and immigration services, who have no currency, whose court decisions are appealed to the United States Supreme Court, an island over which the Washington Congress reserves the unrestricted right to legislate? Is that nation not a colony when its youth are subject to compulsory military service for a foreign power? Obviously, no further comment is needed.

In the case of Cuba, the mockery of the fundamental principles which gave rise to the United Nations reaches the most incredible extremes. A people who are at war only with illiteracy, which they overcame in a memorable effort; with unemployment, which has almost disappeared; with disease, which has steadily lost ground; with economic underdevelopment, against which they wage a relentless battle; with racial discrimination, which is buried forever; with the latifundia system, which has been eliminated in Cuba; with foreign monopolies, a battle which by now has given us many victories. Our people, who are waging this just war with unmatched heroism, and who are at peace with other peoples, suffer without respite attacks charged with violence and resentment from the government of a powerful nation, which, in carrying out this ominous policy utilizes both military and economic means, as well as a giant machine of slander that covers the entire world, intrigue and coercion on a universal scale, and perfidious alliances with the most rotten and discredited elements in Latin America.

And it is perhaps in Latin America where one can observe in most detail the hypocrisy of North American policy, its deceitfulness and lack of respect for the principles it constantly claims to uphold. It is there where U.S. aggression has traditionally made itself felt with its armed interventions, its boundless exploitation of natural resources, its seizure of foreign trade and a great portion of public services, and its coercion of governments. Those governments which do not yield to pressures from Washington by force or corruption face both slander and guns, the latter handled directly by the marines or put in the hands of hired traitors.

Today we see that as an answer to the strident failure of the Alliance for Progress — Washington's prescription for counteracting the attractive example of the Cuban Revolution for the

peoples of the Continent— there is a regression to the somber era of military dictatorships, of military coups with Thompson machineguns and Sherman tanks, which have caused our peoples so much blood, grief, misery and backwardness for so many years. By now, the so-called democracy of most of the Latin American regimes does not fit into their plan to suppress the clamor for justice among the impoverished masses of our continent; and those regimes are appealing, as on many previous occasions, to the bayonet curtain of the military castes, to ambitious and power-hungry swordsmen —many of whom, by a strange coincidence, have studied in the military academies and camps of the United States.

The greed of the monopolies, and their fear that our peoples will emancipate themselves from political domination and from economic exploitation, lead to an attempt to restore the old picture in a new frame in the history of Latin America. This scandalous situation exposes the internal contradictions of United States imperialism. Thus we witness a cross-fire of accusations within the government itself. We see how they cannot explain to public opinion why they destroy the very moral and political values they claim to defend. We see that in the Washington Senate, where Cuba has so often been defamed, data is appearing which gives the lie to pompous declarations and demagogic oratory. Last week it was revealed that in the current fiscal year the U.S. Government had given much more military aid to the Dominican Republic, proportionately, than to any other country in Latin America. That military aid amounted to no less than 1.26 dollars per citizen —3.981,000 dollars— a deliberate aid to the coup against the constitutional government elected only seven months ago. It was also revealed that the United States monopolies and United States military figures participated in the plotting of the coup. Although these events are all too well known by our

countries, because it has been the same for us in all eras, they are of interest because of the time in which they have taken place. This *coup*, followed by a similar one in Honduras a few days later, possibly heralds future achievements of the Alliance for Progress: the alliance of Sherman tanks and Thompson machineguns with the heads of powerful companies and agents of the Central Intelligence Agency!

The bloody realities of these aggressions against Cuba, both in impact and in volume, go far beyond the file which contains the various denunciations made in the United Nations against the aggressive government. From this hall we cannot see—as can the inhabitants of Havana every day—the silhouettes of U.S. warships stationed off our coast for purposes of provocation, subversion and espionage. From these seats you cannot hear the sound of the motors of pirate airplanes that fly over our territory—directed, armed and paid for by the United States Government. From this building it is impossible to clearly appreciate the infiltration of our coasts by traitors trained by the Central Intelligence Agency, armed with the latest equipment for murder and sabotage.

Ninety days from today we shall celebrate the fifth anniversary of our Revolution; during these five years the Cuban people have ceaselessly felt the poisoned sword of this illegal, clumsy and cruel policy. These have been five years of unequal battle, during which our people have shown exceptional courage, overcoming incredible obstacles, taking vast strides forward and winning the fraternal solidarity of all peace-loving peoples.

This dangerous and explosive situation remains unchanged today. To be more explicit, the situation has worsened in the last few months. At the end of April, 1963—without going further back than this six-month period—an airplane flying from the north attacked an oil refinery in Havana, but was not successful, as the detonators did not function. Early in the

morning of August 15 a pirate plane fired several shots at the town where the Bolivia sugar mill is located, in the province of Camagüey, and dropped two 50-pound bombs, one of which exploded. On August 19 a bomber flew over the town of Casilda, in the southern part of the province of Las Villas, firing several rockets, one of which hit and ignited an oil tank car.

Only hours after this attack, two landing craft coming from a mother ship stationed near the mouth of the Santa Lucía estuary, on the northern coast of the province of Pinar del Río, approached the sulphur processing plant located there and opened fire with 30, caliber machineguns and bazzokas, hitting several oil tanks and a sulphuric acid tank.

Fabric Aguilar Noriega, a teacher, was killed, and his three children wounded, as a result of a raid by two unidentified planes over the city of Santa Clara on September 4. Two jet planes were detected in that same area and put to flight by Cuban airplanes.

At daybreak a week ago, a pirate ship attacked and destroyed a saw mill on the north-east coast of the province of Oriente.

It would be impossible, here and now, to list all the aggressions. It is no secret that mercenary elements recruited and paid by the Central Intelligence Agency are concentrated in Central American countries; many of them have gone through training camps of the regular U.S. Army. Nor can the movement of war equipment in that area, and counterrevolutionary activities in United States territory, be hidden.

It is evident that the government of the United States disregards paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter, which states that, in their international relations, member countries should refrain from using threats of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or employ means incom-

patible with the purposes of the United Nations. It also disregards paragraph 3, which says that the member countries should settle their international differences through peaceful means. Nor does it fulfill one of the principal aims of the Charter, which is to practice tolerance and live together in peace as good neighbors. The government of the United States does not observe any of these precepts, nor many others. It prefers to act from "positions of strength" above all when dealing with a small country such as Cuba. Nor, as we see, does it learn from experience, since it has forgotten the 72-hour victory of the Cuban people at the time of the invasion at Playa Girón —an invasion which, as everyone will remember, was totally and admittedly sponsored by Washington.

One of the most repulsive aspects of the policy followed by the government of the United States against Cuba is its attempt to starve our people into submission, confronting our nation with an economic blockade which, as everyone knows, goes far beyond the frontiers of the United States and this hemisphere, and which they wish to extend to almost all import-export markets and even to the seas, travelled by ships bearing peaceful cargoes of food or medicines for our people, raw materials and spare parts for our industry, fertilizers and seeds for our agriculture. The government of the United States believes that our people will yield, will prefer the ignominy of surrendering their independence and sovereignty to enduring the material difficulties caused by economic aggression, despite the fact that there are daily and evident proofs of the Cuban people's unalterable decision to defend their revolution, of their pride in completing the work begun by our liberators.

We will not relate the long list of attacks against our economy since that day in 1960 when the U.S. oil firms refused to refine oil. They are very well known: suppression of the sugar

quota; a general embargo on trade; official efforts to gain European support for the embargo; a United States customs ban on any product manufactured totally or in part with Cuban materials, regardless of the country of manufacture; requests to other countries to prevent their ships from bringing goods to Cuba; pressures aimed at bringing about the termination of trade agreements with Cuba; threats to cut off financial aid to those nations that trade with us; reprisals against ships bringing cargo to us; a financial embargo; the freezing of Cuban funds in the United States; the prohibition of dollar transfer to third countries. Even the funds of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations, and the personal bank accounts of its members, suffered the results of this blind, unprecedented policy, which is contrary to the Charter and obviously condemned to failure!

It is really a shameful, brutal and grotesque policy. And the unprecedented thing is that when they block trade by other countries with Cuba, or carry out reprisals against shipping lines, or prohibit their citizens from traveling to our country, they are at the same time acting against the fundamental interests of third countries, and even of their own country.

The speech delivered last September 30, at Los Angeles by the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Mr. Martin, shows all the immorality, as well as the stupidity, of that policy of economic strangulation, which —do not forget— is in violation of the U.N. Charter. He said that the policy of isolation of Cuba pursued the aim of denying our country all means necessary for success and consolidation, and that, because of U.S. pressure, our trade with capitalist countries had dropped, many airlines had suspended their flights to Cuba, shipping had lessened considerably, and our access to the international financial system had been blocked to a great degree. He added without a blush —on the contrary, he was quite pleased— that this policy

against us had resulted in food rationing, and that today the Cuban people's diet contained from 15 to 25% less calories than before the Revolution.

We do not know where Mr. Martin gets his figures, or which Madison Avenue firm invents them for him, but we are not interested in this. The important thing is their confession of the inherent evil of the policy applied against Cuba, and also their confession of the failure of this policy, since today the Revolution is stronger than ever, and is now more than ever an example for other peoples.

At the same time the United States says from this rostrum that the clouds have lifted somewhat and that new rays of hope can be seen, the Caribbean area is shadowed precisely as a result of the subversive and interventionist activities of the United States government against Cuba. These are facts which cannot be hidden by eloquent phrases. They are realities which can easily be confirmed. What is proclaimed in this hall is later retracted in press conferences or in political speeches. It is a hypocritical conduct.

President Dorticós said here one year ago that a number of circumstances surround the so-called Cuban question, a complex situation which, against our will and firm desires, transforms the question, or attempts to transform it, into a case involving the danger of war. Those words are still entirely valid under the present circumstances, because the stress in U.S. government propaganda is now the same as it was then, trying to present Cuba as a danger for hemispheric peace—though Cuba, on the contrary, is the victim of all types of conspiracies and aggressions—and because that campaign, just as it was before, is accompanied by military preparations in the area. The bleak picture in the Caribbean is not our fault, and this is obvious. It is the fault of those who tighten the vise around Cuba. We know that tension

has diminished elsewhere in the world, and our people and government rejoice at that relief in international tension because we want peace, but, as our Prime Minister Fidel Castro said last week, "we will not calmly accept a situation where tension diminishes elsewhere while increasing for us.

The pressures of all kinds applied on Cuba represent an international crime, and have created a dangerous atmosphere charged with explosive potentials. The Assembly cannot lose sight of these facts when considering the world scene. The situation in the Caribbean area, with Cuba as the center of the subversion and destruction carried out by the United States, belongs indeed under the topic of peace, or rather, of war. The Cuban government and people are aware of the dangers, and are therefore alert. There will be no surprises for us, or for you, who are here given notice. Peace is indivisible, and the responsibility for preserving it is collective.

In short, if we consider the tasks we have ahead in their correct historical perspective, the question of colonialism is, perhaps, the key topic. There is a phrase in the speech delivered in 1960 before the General Assembly by Prime Minister Fidel Castro, which should be recalled, because it expresses, basically, the true concerns of the people, the bridge between war and peace: "Let the philosophy of plunder disappear, and the philosophy of war will disappear!" As long as there are exploited peoples, peoples whose honor is stained by others, peoples who are discriminated against, or in other words, as long as there are imperialist powers and imperialist regimes, we shall always be at the brink of a cataclysm, and there will always be pretexts for aggression.

The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries, approved in the 15th session, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, by an overwhelming majority, is the framework

within which we may include effective resolutions during these months of discussion. The majority of the countries here represented should hold it as their purpose to promote the total fulfillment of the Declaration, since that would be a step towards peace, and since it is a duty towards the nations that still suffer oppression. It is necessary to set a date—in the near future—for the gaining of independence by all, absolutely all colonial peoples. These peoples have suffered centuries of agony, and the least they may expect is this support for their aspirations, this tribute to their bruised and battered dignity.

The imperialist powers do not wish to let go of their prey, they present excuses and evade fulfillment of the Declaration. What they have conquered with fire and sword, at the cost of the blood and tears of their victims, they will not abandon easily. For a long time they have been deriving fabulous wealth from those nations through means which have almost always been inhuman. They resist being cast aside by history, which marches forward inexorably toward their destruction. Our commitment must be to encourage the struggle for emancipation, the incorporation of those millions of people into the concert of independent nations.

We Cubans have a great deal of experience as to what it means to affect the economic interests of the imperialists, and we know that the struggle is bitter and that the imperialists, amidst their contradictions, amidst their intrigues to displace one another, pool their efforts, their money, their propaganda, their votes in international organizations, and their guns, in the effort to break the resistance of the peoples, to block their independence, to prevent their economic development and political awakening. The dramatic struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, who daily display their decision to win liberation, would not be so bloody and would not cause so much

sacrifice and misery, if Portugal did not enjoy the support of her NATO partners in weapons, money and diplomatic maneuvers. The regime of terror, murder, torture and contempt for human dignity in the Portuguese colonies in Africa is based on NATO war equipment and dollars.

The case of Southern Rhodesia is typical of the ruses employed by the colonial powers to mask their resistance to the new period in history, and to maintain unaltered their oppressive structure. In recent sessions of the Security Council, world public opinion was informed of the plot to strengthen the military might of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia and to perpetuate their political rule and their economic plunder of the African population.

The same methods (with different variations in each case) are employed by other colonial powers in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The snares of the colonialists know no frontiers. The aim is the same: pillage, keeping for themselves the sources of wealth of the colonial country. In vain they hope to preserve injustice, either through traditional structures or through embellishments in the system. But they will not succeed. Now the peoples have begun their march, and they know which is the proper path.

We now wish to refer to the *apartheid* policy of the government of South Africa. As a representative of a country where all men are equal, not only before the law, but most important of all, in their opportunities to work and study, where all men have equal access to places of recreation and entertainment, where racial barriers do not exist, and where we are held together by fraternal bonds in the construction of our future—for the Revolution has uprooted privileges and created new and permanent human relations, which uphold the dignity of man above all other considerations—we must reject with deep contempt and indignation

the merciless and intolerable conduct of the fascist regime in South Africa.

It does not seem necessary to state that the Cuban delegation will always be ready—as it has always been—to collaborate on, encourage and vote for whatever measures are necessary to put an end to that shame in today's world: *apartheid*. It is not a coincidence that racists throughout the world are among the worst enemies of the Cuban Revolution.

We also express our passionate solidarity with the Negroes of the United States, victims of brutal discrimination, sacrificed by an unjust system, subject to storms of demagoguery, brothers in pain and indignation to all men on all continents who suffer discrimination.

As we said before, our task in this Assembly will be one of untiring and enthusiastic cooperation on behalf of true peace, and, therefore, the denunciation of all that opposes it, openly or secretly.

And now, to close our address for this morning, we wish to refer to Cuba's position regarding the central topic of the day, the Moscow Treaty, as well as the proposal for the denuclearization of Latin America, which figures prominently on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

World opinion received with approval the news of the signing of the Treaty of Moscow on the partial prohibition of nuclear tests in so far as this implied a relaxation of the anxiety over the dangerous consequences which the diffusion of radioactivity, caused by the tests, brings upon humanity, and in so far as it represented a possibility of lessening international tension. Cuba shared in this feeling of world opinion.

However, it is precisely from the time of signing this Treaty that the Government of the United States, an imperialist

nuclear power, signatory to the Treaty, has begun a new wave of aggression against Cuba. It has renewed its activity with the intention of destroying the Cuban Revolution, furthering all kinds of acts which, in contradiction to the pacific aims of the Treaty, increase the tension existing in the Caribbean, thus reproducing the conditions which gave rise to the so-called "October Crisis" of last year, with real danger to the peace of the world.

From the very moment of the signing of the Moscow Treaty, the imperialist government of the United States, in addition to the adoption of measures directed towards the economic and financial blockade, has been extending the acts of infiltration by agents of the Central Intelligence Agency and of saboteurs into our national territory, who have been conveyed to our coasts in armed vessels of the United States Government itself; pirate attacks by air and sea have redoubled, the U.S. Government using armed boats and bomber and fighter planes, including jet aircraft of their Air Force. These acts have caused loss of human lives and material damage to our country.

At the same time, with cynical publicity, Cuban counter-revolutionaries are being concentrated in Central American territory, with the undisguised complicity of certain puppet governments, and the training of these counterrevolutionary forces is being hastened, financed and guided by the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department of the United States Government.

All the bad faith and deceit which characterize the United States Government are evidenced by these two-face, opportunist and Machiavellian policies. The United States is mistaken, moreover, if it thinks that there can be a climate of peace in the world and a policy of war against Cuba.

It is for this reason that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba considers itself obliged to define its position in respect to

the Treaty, taking into account the special circumstances caused by the activities carried out by the United States Government, precisely from the moment of signing this Treaty.

Cuba values highly whatever successes can be achieved on the difficult path to disarmament. Cuba supports the policy of peace of the Soviet Union, which has been the inspiration, no doubt, of its participation in the conclusion of the Treaty on Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Tests. Cuba is willing to exert as much effort as may be useful for the universal cause of peace. But Cuba cannot be a signatory to this Treaty while one of the signatory powers is carrying out, simultaneously with the signing of the Treaty, a series of activities and is executing a policy towards our country which are bringing about what is in effect a state of undeclared war.

At the time of the "October Crisis," the Revolutionary Government of Cuba pointed out that for our people there could be no genuinely peaceful solution as long as the Government of the United States persisted in its gross violation of the most elementary rights of the Cuban people.

The Government of the United States is systematically maintaining against our country the economic blockade and all the means of oppression, commercial and economic, which it employs in all parts of the world.

The Government of the United States is pursuing its subversive activities: launching and landing of arms and explosives by air and sea; infiltration of spies and saboteurs—these actions being carried out from the territory of the United States and from the territories of certain of her accomplices.

The United States is continuing to systematically violate our air space and territorial waters with its airplanes and warships.

The United States still maintains on Cuban territory the military base of Guantánamo, which does not recognize our sovereignty and exists against the will of our people; this base is used precisely for the above-mentioned violations of our air-space, the introduction of spies and saboteurs and the promotion of counterrevolutionary activities in our country.

Cuba will not, therefore, sign the Treaty on Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Tests as long as the Government of the United States continues its criminal and illegal activities against our country.

The non-signing by Cuba of the Treaty on Partial Prohibition of Nuclear Tests will not change, of course, the practical results of the treaty. Cuba is not a nuclear power and lacks resources to be such a power. But it is Cuba's duty to adopt in the heart of the United Nations a moral position inspired by the inviolate principles of our international policy.

Man's universal longing for peace, which has been stirred into action to demand measures to preserve mankind from war, must also be aroused to demand respect for the integrity and life of all countries alike. Peace must be universal, enjoyed by all nations, large and small.

The case of South Vietnam is a palpable example. What right has the United States to wage against the people of that country, living thousands of miles away from its frontiers, a shocking and brutal war? What right have Yankee airplanes to bomb the citizens of that country? What right have their soldiers and officers to kill the Vietnamese with impunity? This shameful, unjustifiable, colonial war offends the universal conscience. It is time that this International Organization do something.

This is why the Cuban Delegation to the United Nations calls upon all States, especially the African States and other

States here represented whose peoples are fighting to assert their political and economic independence, to urge the just condemnation of South Africa for its policy of *apartheid* and the cruel expressions of colonialist oppression as in Angola, and to urge an equally strong condemnation of the criminal intervention in South Vietnam and the other neo-colonial undertakings which in fact invalidate whatever efforts are made in favor of world peace.

With reference to the suggestions directed towards the conversion of Latin America into a denuclearized zone, the Delegation of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba to the United Nations wishes to define its exact position:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, on principle, is not opposed to the creation of denuclearized zones, nor to any other method or initiative aimed at reducing the possibilities of a nuclear conflagration—a risk with unforeseeable consequences, to which our people, and the whole world, were very nearly exposed during the past "October Crisis," which was generated by the attempts at invasion of our country by the forces of the United States Government.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba highly esteems the intentions which inspired these suggestions on the part of certain Heads of State of Latin American countries, and has been willing to analyze, carefully, the substance of these proposals. However, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba considers that the efficacy of these initiatives is essentially conditioned to their scope in regard to the use of nuclear arms by the only nuclear power which exists on this continent, that is, by the United States of America.

The United States controls Latin American territories on the Panama Canal. It is in possession of Puerto Rico, a land and people which the nations of Latin America will not cease to consider as Latin American. The United States possesses various military bases on Latin American territory and usurps, against

the will of the Cuban people, a stretch of Cuban territory on the Bay of Guantánamo. That is to say, the United States, a nuclear power, boasts a military base in Cuba's own territory.

The Cuban people will not accept a denuclearization agreement unless it entails, at least, the denuclearization of the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, the various United States bases on this continent that are not on their own territory and the return to Cuba of that portion of Cuban territory which the United States illegally usurps.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba is in favor of whatever efforts may be made in order to create a system of world security, but considers that the value of such a system is dependent on its being a system of security without exceptions or privileges for anyone.

This is the position of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. We appreciate the good faith of the suggestions. We are willing to discuss them, but we establish, as irrevocable conditions for our final adherence to them, the necessity of a commitment by the Government of the United States to denuclearize the territories under its jurisdiction, such as the Panama Canal and Puerto Rico, and the dismantling and withdrawal of the U.S. military bases in Latin America, especially of the Naval Base at Guantánamo in our country.

No one yearns more for peace on our continent than we do. The Cuban Revolution is engaged in a great creative undertaking of historic proportions, and an effort of this magnitude can only reach its ambitious objectives in a climate of peace. But as we want a true peace, we desire that whatever suggestions are put forward in order to guarantee that peace be really useful; we feel that the usefulness of such suggestions is determined by the power they have to bind the aggressive hands of the only nuclear power existing in America, i.e. the United States Govern-

ment, which, with its policy of aggression against small countries and of obstinate interference, is blocking the paths to peace, is preparing for local colonial wars and is at this moment increasing its acts of aggression against our country, thus reproducing the circumstances which in October of last year brought this Continent and the whole world close to the brink of nuclear disaster.

Full text of the speech delivered on January 2, 1964, by major Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

Dear guest, who honor us with your presence on this Fifth Anniversary of our Revolution;

People of Cuba:

Five years have passed since the victory of the Revolution. Do we have the right to feel proud of these five years? We certainly have every right to feel proud of these five years of Revolution. We have the right to celebrate it with dignity, and to continue celebrating it forever. Our country will always celebrate this anniversary. We are surer of this every day.

When the Revolution assumed power five years ago, we knew that we had an immense and difficult task before us. And what was our situation then? What was the position of the people? What was the position of the leaders of the Revolution towards this task? It was a position of optimism, of confidence in ourselves. Of course, we had self-confidence that no matter how immense and difficult the task ahead might be, we would march forward.

But it was also true that we, the leaders of the Revolution and the people, had no experience in regard to this new task, this difficult and great task we had before us. And that is why on the day we arrived at the capital of the Republic we said with complete honesty that we felt just as we did the day we landed from the *Granma*. When the revolutionary war had ended,

we understood the vast difference between the experience of our fighters when we landed and our experience when the war had ended.

But the task ahead was not a military task; it was a different task, a much more complex task. It involved demolishing a whole unjust social order, a whole antiquated anachronistic social order, and building a new social order for our people. The mode of production of our society had to be completely changed for a new mode of production. A mode of production that had been entrenched for centuries, with all its traditions, its customs, its institutions, its laws, its ideas, its habits, its procedures of education, its organization, had to be changed for an entirely new mode of production for which we did not have the organization, nor the tradition, nor the habit, nor the customs, nor the appropriate ideas, nor the mental attitude appropriate to this new way of life.

Nevertheless, it had to be done. We could not continue living as we had in the past. The past had to be wiped out; something entirely new had to be created. That had been the aspiration of our people for a long time. Our people had never had the opportunity to create something entirely new. Powerful forces of an international nature and powerful forces of a social nature had prevented our people, all through their history, from being able to work out their own destiny in a serious manner. The Revolution granted that opportunity for the first time in our history.

This did not mean that when we had this opportunity in our hands the road ahead would be easy; nor did it mean that when our people had this opportunity, they would begin from the very first day to do things marvellously. It did not mean that we had an accurate, clear, detailed knowledge from the first day, of what we should do with this new opportunity.

But we did know one thing, and we all know it: the victory of the Revolution meant the end of injustice. We knew that the victory of the Revolution would mean the end of abuses, the end of privileges, and, in the course of time, the end of poverty, of unemployment; in short, the end of the exploitation of our people. We knew that an entirely new era had dawned, and though in the past we were accustomed to seeing injustice and abuse everywhere, now there is not a single Cuban who would calmly accept seeing injustice or abuse.

This does not mean that an end can be put overnight to a series of vices and faults, a series of injustices, and minor privileges in the life of a country. But what did end, what ended very quickly, was the old spirit of conformism, the old lack of hope and optimism.

And the mentality of our people has changed radically in the last five years. In these past five years, from the point of view of building a new life, a new society, which will take many years, we have barely begun. But in these years, from the point of view of consciousness, from the point of view of the mentality of the people, there has been a transcendental and irreversible change.

One thing is very clear, and that is, that every Cuban who is present here and millions of Cubans throughout the island, know that an irrevocable decision has been taken: the past is being left further behind, and will never again return to our country.

What is the present like? Our present involves work, effort and difficulties. That we know, but nevertheless, there is nothing that can change the limitless hope we place in today's effort, the limitless hope we place in the future. Nothing can make us change it for that past without hope, that shameful past, that sad past for the people. The only ones who long for the past

are those who in the past had everything and never worried about the people.

They never thought of the suffering and the tears of the people. The people always wept, always suffered, always sweated, always bled, and no one thought of them. No one remembered them.

Let the exploiters weep today, let the exploiters shed their tears, let the exploiters perspire washing dishes in Miami, let the bourgeois ladies perspire working as servants of the imperialists, or endure the shame of stretching out their hands to receive alms from their imperialist masters. And let them beg in the heart of imperialism, let the exploiters of yesterday beg for charity; for today, in this country, there are no beggars. Let them brood over the loss of their privileges, let them brood over their hatred of the people, and no one will take pity on them. Let them and their masters do whatever they wish to hinder the advance of the people; let them do everything they can. They will achieve nothing, for nothing will stop the victorious advance of our people.

And this is why the basic sensation, the prevailing sentiment in every one of us today, is the certainty that we are winning. It is a feeling of victory; it is a feeling of five years of victory.

The very fact of saying *five years* here, before the people, before this huge crowd in the Plaza Cívica, is in itself a victory that our enemies could never have imagined.

It is not just an ordinary victory. It is not just victory over Batista and his clique, it is not just victory over the counter-revolutionary gangs, over the reactionary exploiters. The people easily swept these enemies out of their way.

It is victory over the U.S. imperialists. It is five years of resistance to U.S. imperialism. It is the Revolutionary Govern-

ment that has maintained itself against the efforts, the hostility and the systematic aggression of U.S. imperialism. And if this victory means a great deal to us, it also means a great deal to the imperialists, for their domineering minds, used to trampling over the rights of the peoples of our America, could not have imagined that this nation —our small nation, our small island— could have resisted, and even emerged victorious from these five years of hard, head-on battle with imperialism.

This shows how much things have changed in the world. They have a great deal to learn from the example of the Cuban Revolution. This Revolution is teaching both reactionaries and revolutionaries. The revolutionaries receive an encouraging lesson from our Revolution, and the reactionaries receive a discouraging lesson from it. The imperialists have to understand this.

If they do not understand, it is because they are stupid. If they do not understand, it is because they are wearing the same kind of blinders that mules wear; if they do not understand, it is because it is hard work for them to do so. But they must understand, and they will understand, although they do not want to —what other choice have they?— that there is an entirely new and different situation in the world, that great changes have taken place in the world.

In the midst of our well-earned revolutionary pride and our well-earned satisfaction at what the Cuban people have accomplished, we must keep in mind that the Cuban Revolution was possible only because of the new conditions existing in the world.

The Cuban Revolution is part of the very powerful movement of liberation of the oppressed peoples, of the exploited and colonized peoples. Our Revolution is part of that very powerful world revolutionary movement that started with the historic revolution of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union — the Revolution of Lenin, the Revolution of Marx and Engels. And

this powerful revolutionary movement grew more and more powerful, and today it has the strength of all the countries of the socialist camp, of all the countries on all continents that struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

It is true that we alone could not have resisted imperialism, that without this powerful force, this powerful movement, we could not have resisted the blockades, the attacks, the economic strangulation that imperialism used against our country. It is true that we have felt the effects of this campaign, of this blockade, and of the economic effort to strangle our country, but they have not been able to crush the Revolution. And what is more, the economy of the country is developing amidst these conditions.

What I have just said, the fact that our Revolution is part of, and can count on, this universal revolution, was made very clear when our Armed Forces were on parade. We saw with pride the fighting units of our people; we saw with pride their discipline and their organization. All the people saw their weapons on parade.

This was not an old-fashioned military parade; the old ones were a display of old, out-dated equipment that imperialism gave its servants to oppress the workers. The weapons that were displayed here today are not outmoded, are not junk; they are up-to-date military equipment which our Revolution has received to resist the imperialists.

The servants of imperialism, with their police forces and their mercenary armies, do not need such modern weapons to attack student demonstrations, to attack worker's demonstrations, to murder farmers, to persecute revolutionaries. They do not need modern equipment for that; but to resist the imperialists and their attacks, we do need powerful weapons, up-to-date weapons.

See how things have been changing in the course of the past five years. The imperialists would no longer think of disturbing the peaceful work of our country with an invasion such as that of Playa Giron; they would no longer think of occupying a portion of our territory to start a long, drawn-out war. They no longer think of that. Why? Because they know what we have, because they know the military might of our Revolution.

Now it is more difficult for them to hurl their puppets into a small war against us. Now it is more difficult for them to hurl their puppets into an invasion of Cuba, for they know that they would last only ten minutes on our beaches.

We prefer to have our forces continue to parade before the people every year as a guarantee of their security and their future. Let us hope that our weapons will never have to be used. Let us hope that not one of these guns ever has to be fired. Let us hope that not one of these tanks, missile units or planes ever has to fight. Let us hope that not one of our fighters has to die. This is our deepest wish.

We do not have these weapons for decoration, or because of a whim. Our people want to live in peace. If our people were not forced to live under constant danger, there would not be tens and tens of thousands of magnificent men handling complex weapons. These men would be in production. They would be working in the factories and fields, increasing production, raising the standard of living of our people, and the resources and the fuel spent on these weapons would be invested instead in the means of production.

That is why it is our wish that those weapons never have to be used. And the stronger our Revolution becomes, the greater the respect of our enemies will be. For with these weapons we cannot only defend ourselves from mercenary attacks, from the

attacks of the puppets of imperialism, but we can also fight against the best and best-equipped units of the imperialist army of the United States.

The imperialists know that it would be no easy thing. They know that the people of Cuba will fight. They know that the Cuban people will fight to the last man and woman. They know that the Cuban people will never surrender. But not only this; they also know that the people of Cuba do not stand alone, they know that the people of Cuba would not fight alone in this struggle. Therefore, it has become more and more difficult for the imperialists. And it would be a good thing if on this Fifth Anniversary of the Victory of the Revolution, the imperialists would sit down for a few minutes and think things over.

Some U.S. newspapers, among those that from time to time write objectively, are beginning to realize these things. I've brought a copy of a news cable on a *New York Times* editorial. See what this prominent U.S. newspaper says on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of our Revolution: "The Cuban Revolution will be five years old tonight, and the Castro regime is certainly strong, and possibly stronger than ever".

"A list of its sins", the *New York Times* adds... you already know what our sins are, "a list of its sins and mistakes have been reported in detail year after year, but the existence and strength of the Cuban Revolution after five years, and the fact that there is no apparent weakening in the attraction of Prime Minister Castro within Cuba, or in his stature as a world figure, require an explanation".

You will forgive me for reading this paragraph about myself. This is not what interests me. I am interested in pointing out what the imperialists are thinking. The imperialists try to become personal. They do not say that this is the revolution of the people of Cuba, they say that it is Castro's Revolution, as if Castro

and the people were two different things, as if it were possible for individuals to make revolutions. What can anyone do without the people?

And then the *Times* goes on — see how the facts are teaching them. It says: "A revolution is, and always has been, a very complex social, political and economic historical phenomenon, with good and bad aspects. These uprisings begin by destroying the social, political and economic structure of the country". This is true. And the *Times* adds: "It is a tragic experience for any nation, and it has been so for Cuba". This is untrue. It has been tragic for the exploiters, for the bourgeoisie, but never for the people. It has been tragic for the imperialists, but never for our people.

Then the newspaper says that "things were made worse by the clumsiness of the young revolutionary leaders". That is true, to some extent; we are not going to say now that we are wise men. But what they meant by clumsiness, was not exactly clumsiness, it was the laws that nationalized imperialist enterprises! Then it says: "But that is not all that is happening in Cuba" —listen to what they say— "all children are receiving an education, the majority are being well fed and well cared for, regardless of how poor their parents may be". And it adds: "the Negro and mulatto population, from a quarter to a third of the total, is obtaining genuine equality. The heads of government are free from financial scandal. These aspects are new in the history of Cuba. It would be foolish to make predictions, but to have survived five years is a remarkable fact, the explanation of which cannot be attributed to simple causes".

These objective words in which realities are acknowledged are really significant, for it is not we who are saying it. And for example, the fact that they speak of genuine equality in our country has much to say to many countries of the world, to the

countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, wherever that equality does not exist. The fact that they recognize that all children are receiving an education is to recognize something in Cuba that does not exist to the same extent in any other Latin American country, not even in the United States itself. The fact that they say that all children are generally well fed regardless of how poor their parents may be... of how many countries in the world can this be said? That the men in the Revolution have not stolen a cent... of how many countries, of the politicians of how many countries, can this be said? And of course, they say that this is completely new. And how could it help but be new, when this was a country of corruption and vice, of pillage, of illiteracy, of unemployment, of hundreds of thousands of children without schools, without food, of unemployed families?

Something else has to be added to this: How have we managed to do this, and how have we had to do it? Under what conditions? The imperialists speak of their Alliance for Progress, and they continually complain that it does not progress. They speak of their Alliance for Progress, which has accomplished nothing of the sort, and yet there is no other country of America upon which there weighs an economic blockade like the one maintained against us; there is no other country in America, whose trade, whose transportation of exports and imports, has been blocked by the United States; there is no other country in America whose economy is sabotaged the way the United States sabotages ours. There is no other country in America where the imperialists have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to carry out acts of sabotage, burn sugar cane, destroy factories, commit crimes, carry out pirate raids, invasions, subversive activities, espionage. There has not been one country where they have done that, and yet, nowhere has there been the change, the quick, extraordinary advance that has taken place in Cuba.

Of course not all Latin American countries are in the same situation, and we do not have the same opinion of all Latin American governments. But the fact is that the imperialists complain that the Alliance for Progress does not progress. And why doesn't the Alliance progress while the Cuban Revolution does? Why? Before the Revolution the imperialists did not use that language, they used another language, they did not use the words *progress*, *Alliance for Progress*. No, they were completely unconcerned with the situation. And if they are worried today, it is not because they are "revolutionaries". Now they speak of "peaceful revolution", and they want to carry out a peaceful revolution through the Alliance. But they do not want to do so because they are revolutionaries, or because they love revolution; they do so because they fear a revolution like ours, they fear true revolutions like ours. No one in the world believes that the imperialists are philanthropists when they talk about allocating funds for building a few small schools, some hospitals, some roads, and when they send out their peace corps, which is an espionage corp. But in the past they did not even do that. They began to do all these things after the victory of the revolution. That is why those hypocritical and opportunist measures are surely going to fail. That is a fact, an obvious fact.

Furthermore, the Alliance for Progress presupposes the maintenance of conditions of imperialist exploitation. The Alliance entails some fiscal reforms, some mild agrarian reforms, and some other measures. It stipulates that politicians should not steal the people's money and that the bourgeoisie should not deposit their money in foreign banks. But at the same time, it presupposes the maintenance of conditions of imperialist exploitation.

As I will explain to you later, our economic situation today could not be better. Our situation today can be compared with

others, and it can be said that it is one of the best on this continent in spite of the imperialists, in spite of their blockade. Because the merit of our successes is that they have been won in the struggle against imperialism, amidst the imperialist blockade.

That is why the imperialists are trying to prevent visits to Cuba. They are not only trying to prevent Latin Americans from visiting Cuba, they are also trying to prevent the people of the United States from visiting us. They carry on a campaign—we read many of the things they publish, and the truth is that day by day they grow more ridiculous, and have less effect. I will give you an example: Recently, we enacted the final agrarian law. Then it was announced that there would be no more agrarian laws—really, the agrarian revolution had already been carried out, it was not an agrarian reform, but an agrarian revolution.

What did the imperialist cables say? “Castro abandons the agrarian reform”.

Abandon the agrarian reform, when what we were doing was concluding the agrarian reform? We gave definite guarantees to the small farm owner because he is an ally of the Revolution, because he can produce along with the people's farms; but 70% of Cuban land is producing through socialist enterprises, through state-owned enterprises. Seventy per cent of the land formerly belonging to the imperialists and large local land owners today belongs to the people, to the nation, and thanks to this we can give an extraordinary impetus to agriculture.

But, together with these people's farms, we have the small farm owners, who own the other 30% of the land; they were freed from payment of rent by the Revolution, and constitute the great peasant mass allied to the Revolution.

When we are carrying out our agrarian reform, the imperialists tell the world: “Cuba is abandoning the agrarian reform”.

When the Revolution talks about developing agriculture, sugar cane, cattle, taking advantage of the fact that we have 160 sugar mills that have been working one hundred days yearly, and that could function 170 or 180 days, by grinding cane that ripens early and cane that ripens late, knowing that with our installed industrial capacity we could double our sugar production, when we speak of the development of our agriculture, they say: "Cuba has abandoned her industrialization program".

Are we abandoning industrialization when we have thousands and thousands of young people in our technological schools? Are we abandoning industrialization when hundreds of thousands of workers are studying, raising their educational level and acquiring a minimum technical knowledge? When what we are doing is creating the economic basis and human basis for our industrialization? But, and this is not the same, the development of industry in this first stage, under present conditions, is slower. Agriculture can be developed faster. But are we abandoning industry? No. We are going to continue to carry out the industrialization of our country, and this will be through the means derived from sugar, with the foreign exchange we get from sugar, and with the means derived from cattle. We are going to develop the industries best suited to our conditions, and we are going to specialize in certain branches of industry. The imperialists publish this nonsense to make people believe that we are abandoning our industrialization plans. No. What we are going to do is to take maximum advantage of our agricultural conditions. And besides, we are a food-producing country, a producer of foods that are in great demand.

Certain consumer industries have developed so much in the world that there are twenty carloads pursuing each customer. But, there aren't 2,000 pounds of meat pursuing each consumer, there aren't 2,000 pounds of sugar pursuing each consumer. And

our products, our agricultural products, command a very good price.

If, when sugar prices rise above 10 cents, we do not cultivate sugar cane, this is what the imperialists would like. For the imperialists are going crazy with these problems that they themselves have created.

We have received exceptional aid, of course, from our brothers of the socialist camp. And it has been, above all, sincere aid, honest aid, internationalist aid.

But we have also received unexpected aid, aid we did not hope for: the aid of the imperialists. It has not been conscious aid —don't even imagine that— it has been the involuntary aid of the imperialists. The imperialists have helped us with their aggressive measures in certain things, such as depriving us of our sugar quota in order to ruin us. They helped us. This measure boomeranged against them. What happened when they deprived us of the quota? Cuba needed new markets. The Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp decided to buy our sugar. In other words, a new market opened. Of course, even before the imperialists deprived us of the quota, Cuba had already sold one million tons to the Soviet Union by agreement. But when our quota was taken away, then the Soviet Union offered to buy all the sugar the United States did not buy. The result: this sugar went to a new market, and the imperialists turned to the world market to buy sugar. At that time the world market price was low and they tried to benefit by it. But, what happened? Something they had not foreseen: after a few years sugar prices began to rise and rise and rise, and at this moment sugar is above ten cents. Last year the imperialists had to spend 400 million dollars more than if they had bought our sugar. And it will be between 400 and 500 million this year.

But there is more; they are playing tricks, they are cheating. Recently, they had to announce the amount of sugar they must buy, but since the price was high, they told a lie: they published figures that were 600,000 tons less than they really need. What for? To try to lower prices.

And something else: They announced domestic sugar production figures that are higher than they actually are, to try to lower prices. We kept quiet, because we really don't deal in a speculative policy. We would have been, and we are, ready to trade with any country on a long-term basis and at a price way below ten cents. We are ready. We do not want to base our economy on the speculative principles of the capitalists. If sugar is in the clouds —the price, and sugar also, of course— it is not our fault. The imperialists are to blame. If many countries have had to pay much more for sugar, it is not our fault; the imperialists are to blame, because they are the ones who have created this situation. But, anyway, the sugar-producing countries, many of which have underdeveloped economies, have received better prices, and we are glad. We are glad that they have received better prices. To be glad of that is one thing, and to say that we are going to give up our market for the benefit of those who wanted to take over our market under the conditions of the imperialist blockade, ah, that is another story! We have already announced the amount of sugar that we are going to produce by 1970, and we have already said that we are ready to sell it at whatever price may be necessary by that time and recover our market. And we have already clearly said: nature gave our country exceptional conditions for producing sugar cheaper than any other country in the world. And those conditions are a gift of nature —that is, our land. We lack other things, but we have that advantage, and with that advantage we are ready to fight. With that advantage, we are ready to compete. Yes, to compete with our bourgeois competitors. We will see which is stronger in

producing sugar, the bourgeois economy or the socialist economy. We have already announced that by 1970 we will produce ten million tons of sugar. Naturally, prices in 1970 will not be the same as today, but there will be more income, because there will be more volume.

The imperialists have harmed many nations through their policy against Cuba. They have not only harmed us, but many other countries as well. What is more absurd, they have harmed many countries that are their allies.

The imperialist trade-blockade policy involves a hate-inspiring position, a position repudiated by the whole world, a position against free-trade, a principle defended by all states, whether socialist or capitalist.

It can be said that freedom of trade, because of its universal convenience, is a principle that is universally supported by all nations, except the U.S. imperialists.

But behind this position lie other matters: the imperialists wish to defend their interests, to defend their shipping companies, to put ships of Norway, Britain, France, Spain, Japan, Sweden, Greece and other countries out of business. For more than half a dozen countries receive large incomes from merchant shipping, and the imperialists have been scheming against the interests of these countries while protecting the interests of their own merchant fleet.

And I have another cable here that reads:

"Eleven countries have jointly protested against attempts of the U.S. government to control maritime freight tariffs for their own benefit and under threat of reprisal. In the name of the governments of Great Britain, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, the Netherlands Ambassador in Washing-

ton delivered a note of protest to the U.S. State Department. The U.S. press points out that the eleven-nation protest is due to attempts by the U.S. Federal Merchant Marine Commission to demand that shipping companies of those countries submit data on their operations. A spokesman of the U.S. State Department confirmed that the Government had received the note of protest, but refused to disclose its text to the press".

In other words, this is part of a policy. Using Cuba as a pretext, they are trying to replace the shipping lines of these other countries by their own ships in trade between other countries and the United States.

Now, in addition, the main difficulty regarding the sale of U.S. wheat to the Soviet Union has been that the U.S. government has tried to protect its shipping companies. Naturally, other maritime countries are protesting against this privilege that the United States is trying to arrogate to itself, since freights charged by U.S. ships are higher, and these companies receive subsidies from the U.S. government.

What is the only country in the world that follows this policy? The United States. What country follows a really stupid international policy? The United States.

There are some things that are very clear. For example, the United States is trying to isolate the socialist camp economically, it is trying to isolate the People's Republic of China, to isolate Cuba. That is, it is trying to isolate over one thousand million people. This is a most stupid policy, one that goes against the interests of the United States itself. What has happened? What has happened is that other capitalist countries are buying and selling to the socialist camp; they buy and sell to People's China, they buy and sell to Cuba. The result: while the gold reserves of different capitalist countries are increasing and their industry is developing, U. S. gold reserves are decreasing. And

the most serious headache the imperialists suffer today is the continuous decline in their gold-reserves. They say they have taken these measures to defend U.S. security. This is what they tell the people of the United States. And what they are really doing is to weaken their own security, not only their economy, for to the extent that their gold reserves decline, their world position weakens.

But not only this; as their gold reserves decline (a result of their stupid policy, of their war-mongering policy, of their military encirclement policy) they have to strangle the economy of many countries and take away their gold.

Thus we have the example of Japan. Japan spends two thousand million dollars in the United States, and the United States buys only one thousand million dollars worth of goods from Japan. That is to say, many countries in Latin America, in Asia have to raise dollars to send to the United States, and this hurts these countries. And when countries like Japan and others have to send dollars to the United States, they harm their trade with other countries of the world. For naturally, if a country collects on one side to give it away on the other, trade becomes more difficult for it than if it buys where it sells. That is, it sells, and receives foreign exchange; it buys, and hands over foreign exchange. From our own experience we have seen how trade becomes easier when it is kept in balance. For example, Japan needs sugar, it buys it from us. But we do not use the dollars paid by Japan to buy from another country. No. We try to spend in Japan what Japan pays us. We try to spend in Britain what Britain pays us. We try to spend in Spain that Spain pays us. And thus, from the moment Cuba started practicing free trade and freed itself from the International Monetary Fund, it has been able to trade with all countries of the world.

The imperialists do not want these countries to trade with us, and try to put pressure on them. But these countries, these nations, have their own interests, which are not the interests of the U.S. monopolies. These countries need our products, and at the same time we need a market for our products. They are not willing to let themselves be influenced by imperialist pressure, and therefore the policy followed by the United States in respect to Cuba is a greater failure every day. Their pressures have less and less impact and our trade is developing more and more.

What do the imperialists do when a country trades with us? I have another cable here that reads: "The United States has told Spain that its growing trade and shipping with Cuba endangers the aid it receives from the United States". It is a very carefully edited statement (you know how these people edit things), but basically they all say the same thing. It is blackmail, a threat, pressure, and no matter how carefully they edit it, they cannot conceal this. "In a carefully worded statement, the State Department reported tonight that the matter is being discussed in Madrid with the Spanish government. The State Department says that two clauses in the Law are involved in the problem. One is included in the foreign-aid law passed last year, and the other in the foreign-aid law that Congress passed this week".

In short, when a country trades with Cuba they threaten it, they try to blackmail it, they threaten to cancel aid.

What kind of aid is this? What kind of friends are the imperialists? What kind of blackmailers? No country tolerates this kind of prohibition, and no country that respects the sovereignty of others makes such prohibitions. It would be absurd if we told any country: "we will not buy from you or sell to you if you trade with such and such a country". They would say: "you are crazy". But why haven't they said yet that the

imperialists are crazy? Because the imperialists have had many resources, because they have been strong, but since that strength and those resources are declining, many people will begin to realize how crazy and how stupid the U.S. imperialists are when they do such things. They are trying to enforce a policy of isolation.

They try to impose an insolation policy. Of course, they could do this when only one country was involved. But when it involves many countries, this policy becomes more difficult to enforce. The final result is that they are the ones who are isolated, and they will remain insolated, for our country is establishing trade with other capitalist countries, which later will have no need for trade with the U.S. We are less and less interested in trade with the U.S. Why? Because we seek other markets. Because we look for other buyers, and, besides, we buy products from other countries. In the long run what the imperialists are doing is losing big markets. They are putting a noose around their neck with their own policy.

And what is the result? Here we are. Are we starving? No! Is our Revolution weaker? No! And how is our economy getting along? Our economy is improving. We must leave them to their illusions. U.S. news cables speak of nothing but horrors. They report that everyone here is starving to death. Let them hang on to their illusions. If they think they will defeat us in this way —wonderful! But I don't know what has gotten into these people. They have turned into idiots.

I am going to tell you what our situation is: Our economic position is improving greatly. I will give you a few facts: When the Revolution came to power there was less than 70 million dollars in the nation's reserve of foreign exchange. Our reserves at present are more than 100 million dollars in foreign exchange.

There is something else. 1963 was a better year than 1962, was it not? However, in 1964, the value of our exports will be at least 200 million dollars higher than in 1963. The value of our exports in 1964 will be over 750 million dollars—at least 200 million dollars more than in 1963. To give you an idea of what this means, it is enough to say that some big countries of Latin America, like Brazil, will export only a little over that amount. Of course, they have a more developed economy and they have more industries. But anyway, the exports of our country, with a population of a little over seven million, will amount to more than 750 million dollars.

Now you see what a failure the imperialist blockade is. How ridiculous it is! How useless! It has created many enemies for the United States, but in the long run we have managed to overcome the difficulties. We have gained in organization, in earnestness, in firmness; the spirit of this country has been strengthened as a result of this blockade. And you can see how the distribution of food was much better in 1963 than it was in 1962, and you can see, in spite of the hurricane, in spite of the damage caused by the hurricane, the perspectives that our country has for next year!

What will the future be like, as the organization and the experience that we are acquiring are put into action, as we improve the quality of our work, as we learn how to apply technology to production!

The comrades of our youth organizations, the Union of Young Communists and the Students Union, did very well bringing this torch of the Technical Revolution here, for we have to conduct the Technical Revolution, we have to put an end to old methods in the cane fields: We have already ended old methods in politics, and now we are going to end old methods in agriculture. A man with a hoe is a pre-historic man as far

as production is concerned; a man with a machete cutting grass, is a pre-historic man. It is logical that this happened, under capitalism, for the capitalists did not have markets, the imperialists did not allow them to have markets, neither for sugar nor for meat. That is why, had they mechanized, the population would have died of hunger; they had to go on using a spade and a machete. Their production was very low, a man with a scythe can produce for himself and his family and perhaps for a few more. A man with a modern combine can produce meat for four or five hundred persons, he can produce milk for hundreds of persons, he can produce much more sugar. We have to eradicate our pre-historic and primitive methods of production to make room for modern scientific and technical methods of production. We are going in that direction, we have to mechanize all of our agriculture. We have to apply technology to all of our agriculture, and we have to apply technology to our industry as much as possible, because that is what will increase production per man and per hour, and that is what will raise the standard of living of our people.

Fortunately, today the Revolution does not only speak words and make promises, the Revolution can demonstrate deeds. We said right after the hurricane which caused so much damage to the nation, that by the 15th of December the levels of supply would be re-established, and this has been done. And at the close of this year, there have been incomparably more consumer products than in previous years.

And I am going to tell you something else. Up to now there has been an inflationary process, but this year it will be the reverse. The money in circulation will not increase. Money is already being withdrawn from circulation, and there will be no new issues in 1964; on the contrary, the National Bank plans to take some 70 million dollars out of circulation. That is, our

economy is improving greatly. This is the way by which queues will be ended, and this is the way by which our standard of living will continue to improve.

What country in Latin America can present an economic situation like this? Most of the Latin American countries are in a tremendous period of inflation, which has no apparent solution, and Cuba is beginning to move in the opposite direction. Its reserves are increasing, inflation is being fought, there is an anti-inflationary process. What does it mean for us to have more reserves? If this were a bourgeois and capitalist country, it would mean that this wealth would turn into Cadillacs, into automobiles, into trips to Miami, Paris, and everywhere. But what does the increase of reserves mean under socialism? They are not going to be invested in luxuries, they are going to be invested in factories, in raw materials, and in consumer goods for the people, because we never forget the needs of the people.

Of these reserves, one part will be used to improve our economy, for investments, to develop our economy. Another part will be used to improve the consumer power of the people, for the people who work, the people who struggle, the people who are building a better life for the coming generations, also have the right—and Cuba's conditions allow it—to receive the fruit of their effort and to improve their living condition.

There are a number of things that we need, and it would not be logical for us to start buying automobiles. We prefer the "old jalopies" circulating now. We have to buy new buses to improve transportation. We have to buy new trains, and we are going to buy new trains to improve inter-provincial transportation. Our airlines have improved. We are going to improve our maritime lines, instead of buying Cadillacs, instead of taking trips abroad. We must invest these resources which we have as a result of the high price of sugar, and the improvement in

our economy, to solve basic problems, fundamental problems. It does not matter if there are no beautiful cars; there will be locomotives for the railway lines, there will be passenger trains, there will be buses for the transportation of our people, for the people here, the vast majority of the people, never had cars.

There will be transportation for our goods, and in this way we can break the imperialist blockade. There will be fishing boats to increase the people's consumption of proteins and their general nourishment, to market tens of thousands of tons of tuna, which the people like so well, and many other species of fish. I don't want to speak of haddock, because so much of it appeared, and they sold it so often that the people got tired of it, although haddock is a fine dish and highly estimated in all parts of the world.

And what should these reserves be invested in? Not in automobiles. We will have to buy some cars for taxis, with meters and everything. We will have to be thinking about this, so that thousands of taxi drivers who are working and who see that their cars are getting old, will be able to work in the taxi business in the future with fewer worries than today. For in our country there are definitely opportunities for all, including those very taxi drivers whom we have often criticized, but who, I believe, have improved lately. Isn't that so? And they will be able to continue working in the future. And when a working-man in a hurry takes a taxi he will know how much it will cost, because there will be a meter marking it, and there will be no tricks. And we will make state enterprises where the drivers whose cars are already too old will work with a good salary. We are not going to invest our money in buying cars to hand them over to anyone without control over the rates charged the people, but there are opportunities for the workers in that field. They are independent workers, but we have to think about them. We are thinking of all of them, and we are really beginning

a stage of progress, of improvement, and the results are already beginning to be seen everywhere.

Year by year, these results will be seen, and we will see the results of the organized force of the people at production and work. And we will see what this reinforcement of technicians means—the cadres that are being trained in our universities and in our technical schools. To our visitors we say: This is the picture of Cuba. This is not the Cuba presented by the imperialist news agencies, this is the real Cuba, the optimistic Cuba, the Cuba that supports the Revolution, the Cuba whose enthusiasm never decreases, the Cuba that is confident in her future, the Cuba that desires a future of peace and the Cuba that has the right to be respected and be left in peace.

We can therefore say that perspectives are really good, and that the Year of Economy promises great successes.

What are the perspectives of peace for our people? Well, there is a universal trend for peace in the world at this time, a universal wish for peace, a universal current of optimism, because mankind knows that peace means welfare, that peace means development, improvement of the economy, and progress for the peoples. This is truer of the socialist countries than anywhere else, for in the socialist countries we have no internal contradictions, we have no contradictions in our economies, we have no crises of overproduction because the economy develops according to plan. But also, for the capitalist countries, peace means more markets, more trade opportunities, fewer possibilities of crisis. Trade, peace, peaceful coexistence, benefit both the countries of the socialist camp and the countries of the capitalist camp. What has the new President of the United States said in these last few days? I have another cable. It says: "President Lyndon B. Johnson today urged the world to speak less and do more on behalf of peace. He announced that in 1964 he will conduct an

unrelenting peace offensive to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Sources close to the Chief of State said that Johnson believes that United States cannot wait a whole year until the coming elections to exert the maximum pressure on behalf of peace.

Johnson and Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov today exchanged promises that they will strive to improve relations in 1964. A message was received at the White House in Washington yesterday from the Soviet leader expressing the hope that 1964 will be characterized by additional and significant progress, the solution of important international problems, and the improvement of relations between our countries in the interest of the Soviet and American peoples and on behalf of the strengthening of world peace.

"In his reply the President of the United States said that the time of speaking about peace was past. 1964 must be a year to take measures aimed at achieving that objective. The efforts by chemists in the laboratories, the scientists in space and the agricultural experts in the fields will be in vain unless we learn to live together in peace," he said. "No achievement in physical science can be compared to what may be attained in the field of political science by giving the world a just peace."

And he continued: "The American people and their government have set the strengthening of peace as their highest objective in the new year. I myself am totally committed to attaining better understanding among peoples everywhere: peace on earth, good will to men must not be a mere illusion. We can convert it into reality." Johnson's message, which is also addressed to Soviet President Brezhnev, ends by saying, "the destiny of peace and the hopes of millions have been placed in our hands. I fervently hope that we will be good custodians of this trust."

This is certainly a declaration of peace. It could be called an encouraging declaration of peace, but we have our reserves. Unfortunately we have to insert a "but." We would prefer not to have any reason to insert a "but." Johnson says in his message that he is committed to attaining greater understanding among peoples everywhere. Good! We and the American people are also part of those peoples. He says that we must learn to live together in peace and that it is time to speak less and do more on behalf of peace. Good! But only a few days ago, on the eve of December 24th, C.I.A. agents criminally shed Cuban blood, C.I.A. agents coming from and operating from Florida.

And something else: we know that the people who took part in the operations of the *Rex* pirate ship were the same as those who placed an underwater mine on the hull of one of our warships. And not only that: they arranged a trap. They tried to cause a massacre like the one of *La Coubre*. In other words, first they caused a small explosion—the bomb which they had placed under cover of darkness—operating underwater, placing it so that it would first make a small explosion. And a few minutes later, when the crew gathered to see what had happened, there would be a big explosion. It cost the lives of three comrades in the Revolutionary Navy, and it cost the blood of 17 other comrades who were injured. That was a criminal attack, a cowardly attack, an unjustifiable attack. That was the Christmas gift from the C.I.A., that was the Christmas gift from the United States to the Cuban people: the blood of young Cubans, criminally, traitorously and cowardly shed. And since the C.I.A. does not act on its own account, since the C.I.A. acts on behalf of the United States, we have the right to say that President Johnson is responsible for the blood our young comrades shed there.

We therefore have the right to tell him that it is time to talk less and do more for peace. For such actions are no way

to advocate peace. Such violations of international law are no way to advocate peace. Such bloody actions are no way to advocate peace. They are shameless and cowardly actions. The blood that has been lost hurts us, but it discredits the United States, it gives them no prestige, no glory.

We want peace. We desire peace—peace here in Cuba and peace also in South Vietnam, where there are 15,000 American soldiers,—here thousands and thousands of US mercenaries are bombing the Vietnamese people, murdering Vietnamese peasants, workers and patriots. What are the soldiers of US imperialism doing there, waging such a cowardly, stupid, criminal war? Let not a single nation be excluded from the right to peace! Let this right to peace, now yearned for by all nations, so rightly proclaimed and tenaciously fought for, not be denied to any nation or to any people of the world.

If the U.S. imperialists believe that there can be peace when attacking small countries, when shedding Cuban blood, the blood of other peoples, when interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, this is not a peaceful concept. Each country must decide its own destiny freely, by itself it must choose its own path freely, by itself.

This is an indispensable condition for world peace. Let us hope that the leaders of the United States understand the errors and stupidity of their policy. May they join the struggle for peace, whose standard-bearers have been the countries of the socialist camp. Peace is today a sentiment that has universal support, even within the United States itself. The policy of force, of the cold war, of belligerency, of warmongering, is more and more discredited, has less and less prestige.

Our country wants to live in peace and our country can live in peace with all other countries. Why? Because we do not have to take anything from anybody, we do not have to interfere in

anybody's affairs; we have but one task, one wish, one right: to work, to progress, to make our country advance. We do not have to interfere in any country's trade. We do not have to create difficulties for any country. All countries may benefit from dealing with us. All countries can sell to us. We can buy from and sell to any country. We do not practice discrimination against anyone. We exclude no one. Our trade is open to all countries alike. We trade with all sister countries of the socialist camp, and we are willing to trade under conditions of mutual benefit with all capitalist countries, even the United States. They believe that they are doing us great harm by not trading with us. And they are wrong. Facts are proving us right. Their economic aggressions are boomeranging against them. We are not begging them to trade with us. They could not tempt our Revolution with such a coin. Should they some day want to normalize their relations with us, it will have to be on the basis of the strictest and fullest respect for our sovereignty and our economic, social and political system.

We will never make ideological concessions, and we will maintain an unyielding Marxist-Leninist position. Nevertheless, this is no obstacle to our living in peace. It would be absurd for us to tell the people of the United States that if they want to trade and have good relations with us they must give up their bourgeois philosophy. It would be absurd for us to place conditions on what they do over there. That would be so ridiculous no one would think of it. Well, then, neither should they tell us these things, because it is just as ridiculous.

They talk about Marxism, that it is not tolerable, that it is not admissible. And who are they to decide how every country should be governed? Who are they to issue laws within the border of another country? Our right, just as that of any country of Latin America, is and always must be to choose the type of government that we deem suitable.

If a country does not want to conduct a Revolution, let it not conduct it; that is its own business.

If it wants to conduct it, let it conduct it; that is that country's right; it is every country's right.

On the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty of every country, we can live at perfect peace with all countries on this continent. On the basis of a principled policy, we can live at perfect peace with all countries on this continent.

What we will not accept is the policy they want to implement against us; what we will not accept is what they proclaim so much. They accuse us of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, when they are precisely the ones that have been shamelessly interfering in the internal affairs of Cuba for the past five years, committing all sorts of villainies and aggressions. What do they think? Are they going to blame us for all the crimes the United States has committed against us? The governments of Latin America cannot do that. The governments of Latin America cannot play deaf. They cannot turn a deaf ear to the realities of the misdeeds and crimes which the imperialists commit against our nation, and then condemn Cuba because that suits U.S. imperialism, because that is what U.S. imperialism wants. Each country in Latin America is free to do what it considers appropriate; each country in America should know what its interests are. But it is good to warn the nations and governments of Latin America that they have a lot to thank the Cuban Revolution for, because if today many governments are not treated as dogs by U.S. imperialism—although every once in a while imperialism boots out some government in Latin America—it is due to the Cuban Revolution. If today the nations of Latin America hope to get better prices from the imperialists for their products, if they have the hope that the imperialists will lend them some money, it is due to the Cuban Revolution. If the

Cuban Revolution should be crushed by the imperialists today, on the following day the imperialists would destroy the economy and interests of all the nations of Latin America.

The governments of Latin America must understand that to conspire against the Cuban Revolution is to conspire against their own interests and against their own people. The governments of Latin America must understand that to the same extent they help the imperialists against Cuba they dig their own grave, and that the day that the Cuban Revolution should cease to exist, the imperialists' fear would end, and then it would be goodbye to the few pennies they are now sending down for the construction of a road, a school, or a hospital. For in that case no one would receive even a few pennies, nor would they have any hope of getting better prices for their products.

The existence of the Cuban Revolution frightening the imperialists has been one of the most beneficial factors for the nations of Latin America, even if no revolution has taken place there.

That is why it is foolish to play the game of the imperialists. Several governments in Latin America that are intelligent, that follow a policy more in line with the sentiments of their people, have maintained a position of resistance and firmness against imperialist pressures. They have not adopted the position of those puppet and servile governments which do nothing but obey orders from Washington, those governments that the imperialists overthrow every once in a while. They throw out and put in another three minutes later. What has happened to them all? Ydígoras, Villeda Morales, Frondizi... you even lose count of them... (someone in the crowd shouts *Betancourt*)... He is a political corpse, the person you mentioned there, but that is a problem for the Venezuelan people, not for us. But we know that the people of Venezuela are heroic, fighting and persevering.

Why are the Venezuelan people rebelling against the imperialists? Because they are being plundered, because Venezuela could be the richest country in the world with the highest standard of living for the people, because of its oil deposits. Who is depriving them of all that? The imperialists, the military caste, grafting politicians, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the land owners, the merchants, the large merchants in the country. That is the reason for the rebellion of the Venezuelan people.

But the Venezuelan people have the right to conduct their Revolution. We have no right to intervene in their internal affairs, but neither have the imperialists the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Venezuela and send weapons to Venezuela to murder Venezuelan patriots.

We have no right to send arms to Guatemala or to any other country, but the imperialists have no right to be sending arms and to do what they are doing in countries like Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have no right of any kind to carry out acts violating the sovereignty of other countries. We can live in perfect and absolute peace with any country or government in Latin America, and even with the United States, regardless of the social system existing in those countries, on the basis of a policy of principles, of unlimited respect for the sovereignty of all countries, if every country does the same. The imperialists say that we nationalized their enterprises, and what worries them is not that they were nationalized —more than one U.S. enterprise is being nationalized here and there. What they are worried about is the payment for them. Well, if that is worrying them, we are ready to pay them, but if they want us to pay them, let them trade with us. But they must not get the idea that we are begging them to trade with us. We have stated that we are ready to pay indemnity on a certain basis —if commercial relations are normalized with us— but they are mistaken if they

think that we can't live unless they are normalized. If they do not want to establish normal relations, that is up to them, but in that case we will never pay them even half a cent for all those enterprises.

And we will continue to live happily here. If need be, our grandsons will discuss it with the grandsons of the present leaders, the present U.S. generation. We are in no hurry. I am going to tell you what I said to a French newspaperman: We are revolutionaries, we are not worried over risk and danger; we revolutionaries, by temperament, prefer a life of risk to a tranquil life without problems; we defend the policy of peace because it is a question of principle, because peace is the aspiration of all humanity. We defend it on principle, and because it concerns all humanity. Our revolutionary temperament feels quite at ease in the turbulent waters of agitated situations, if the imperialists want to maintain this situation indefinitely. We swim beautifully in those waters, because they are the waters in which a revolutionary feels at home. And we have come to power because we have a revolutionary temperament, and we are conducting the revolution because we have a revolutionary vocation and temperament. We haven't lost our temperament on coming to power, we haven't lost it after five years in power. Nor are we meek. The imperialists needn't think that we are going to fold our arms while they are committing all kinds of brutalities against us. We are going to try to answer blow for blow, and the imperialists should know that whatever harm they try to do us, we will try to do them.

However, we are not to blame for this situation. We are not to blame for this policy. It is they who have followed this policy against our country. It is they who have maintained a proud, arrogant and high-handed policy with respect to Cuba; an inglorious policy, a defeated policy, a pyrrhic policy, a ridicu-

lous policy that has led them to one defeat after the other. And the more harm they have tried to do us, the more has been the merit of this Revolution, and the more glory and prestige this Revolution will have in the eyes of the present and future generations. Beg them to trade with us? Beg them to re-establish diplomatic relations? No!

I told that newspaperman that for reasons of principle, we are interested only in peace. Let them forget about us and we will forget about them. We do not need their trade now in order to live, because they compelled us to look for other markets, because today we have the stable and inexhaustible market of the socialist camp. Our country has no problems in the future, it has unlimited markets for its staple products, it has received unlimited aid from the Soviet Union and from all other socialist countries in these difficult years. We shall be grateful forever for this aid. On the basis of this proof, the innumerable proofs we have received, we have built indestructible bonds of friendship between our revolutionary nations.

I said to the French newsman: "We prefer that the U.S. government be represented by a Swiss Ambassador, because he represents them well; he is not spying a round, and he hasn't two hundred spies in the Embassy: the U.S. Embassy would give a terrible headache to anybody". And I said to him: "This is an austere country where vice is being eradicated. There isn't a gambling den here any more, prostitution is disappearing, the vice centers, where many U.S. tourists went, no longer exist. The tourist business could be a source of income representing 50 million or 100 million dollars, but do you know what it would mean to us to see them again, with loud shirts, drunk on the streets, looking for brothels, looking for gambling joints? That trade does not interest us; with our works we can create a hundred million dollars and much more than that, without the necessity of enduring those humiliations".

And I say this sincerely: the best thing would be for them to forget us and us forget them and not see each other in twenty years. The only thing that we are really interested, in because it is a question of principle, is peace. Let them leave us in peace. We do not need them, fortunately, and this is our good luck; it is our good luck to be able to say that we do not need them at all, that we do not need their trade or their relations. If they want to trade, we will trade, we won't refuse. If they want to establish relations, they would really give us a lot of headaches, but we too would be willing to establish relations. But, truly, our fundamental interests do not lie here. So, they have no need to place conditions on aid to us. We have never asked them for aid at any time, and we will never ask them for aid —never!

If we know how to help ourselves, if we can help ourselves by working, studying, applying technology, improving organization, what need do we have for such spurious aid? What need do we have for such blackmailing aid? One day we may be trading with Guiana and then they might say. "If you trade with Guiana we will take away the five dollars we are giving you. We would then face an embarrassing situation, and we would have to tell them, "Aren't we free? What is the matter with us?". It is intolerable for a country to be told this.

And wherever the United States takes its aid they follow it up with blackmail and press their conditions even further. We are really happy not to have it. Are we not? (The people answer "Yes!"). I do not think it is just my personal feeling; that is how all our people feel. We are very happy, very satisfied with what we can do. Our soil is rich. Our people are intelligent and enthusiastic. Our citizens are becoming more and more skilled. We have friends. Our future is good. What do we care about the imperialists? We don't need the imperialists, and we feel very fortunate not to need them.

We are ready for any peaceful solution. We are ready to live in peace with all peoples of the world. We will never spare our efforts in the struggle for peace. But let the imperialists know—since they sometimes believe we are drowning and want to be pulled out of the well—that it is not we, but they, who are in the well. And just let them see that we are better off than they are, that while this year we have more foreign exchange than last year, they have less.

And they have a million problems that we have already solved. We can advance with a planned economy that develops vigorously. We can build the future we want.

That is what should encourage us and make us happier on this fifth anniversary. We have ahead of us a future that is ours, because we have earned the right to the future and we defend that right with the weapons that were on parade here and with the people that followed behind the weapons.

The Revolution is solid, firm. It is consolidated; it is no longer the product of enthusiasm only. It is the product of conscious will, of understanding, of the experience that a whole nation has been acquiring.

The Cuban Revolution cannot possibly turn back; the Cuban Revolution is indestructible. To destroy it, it would be necessary to destroy a whole people, and a whole people cannot be destroyed with impunity today.

The Cuban Revolution marches forward. It has arisen at a moment in the history of mankind when the peoples are freeing themselves. It has arisen in one of the most glorious and promising moments for the people, for mankind, when the peoples that were subjugated for centuries in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, have realized that they have the right and, above all, that they have the opportunity, to be independent, to be free, to cease

being vassals of the exploiters. At this moment the Cuban Revolution arose —the Revolution that gave our country a name, that made it known in every corner of the world, where many thought we were an appendix of Florida, one more little key in the chain of keys located south of the United States. It is the Revolution that has stirred the hopes and encouraged hundreds of millions of oppressed people, that has won friends in all parts of the world, stirred emotions and sympathy. It is the Revolution that has kept the imperialists awake, that has served as an example for the exploited as well as for the exploiters. This is our Revolution, the Revolution that today celebrated its fifth anniversary as it will celebrate its fiftieth and its one hundredth anniversaries.

It will be a beacon, a torch in the history of our country, it will be an inspiration for coming generations, a beginning for our country, for other generations will receive this inspiration, this strength and this tradition, and our country will continue to advance.

Every generation will do its part, and the role played by every generation will be brilliant. We have seen how the present Soviet generation has been able to conquer outer space, has carried out great feats in science and technology, while to the previous generation fell the glory of the Revolution, of laying the basis for the present possibilities.

What will future generations do? What will the descendants of the Cubans of today do?

Perhaps our imagination cannot reach so far. But we are quite aware that we are preparing the road to that future, we are working for that future, and that, along that road, that path which we are building with our sweat, our blood, our enthusiasm, will march the future generations of our country.

That is why, today, on the celebration of this fifth anniversary, we congratulate the people. We congratulate the people on this occasion, on this anniversary.

For, by chance, the New Year, the new life and the New Revolution arrived together in the world and are together on the calendar.

Our gratitude to all those who have visited us, to all those who have joined in the enthusiasm of our people during these days.

Our best wishes to the people, our greetings, our wish that we may all march along that road, and our conviction that it will be so.

OUR COUNTRY OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!

EMP. CONS. DE ARTES GRÁFICAS
[MIN. DE INDUSTRIAS]
UNIDAD 210-05
LINDERO Nº 1, LA HABANA

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

STAT

**FOUR YEARS
OF
AGRARIAN REFORM**

by

Carlos Rafael Rodríguez

POLITICAL DOCUMENTS

6

FOUR YEARS OF AGRARIAN REFORM

by

CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ

President of the National Institute of the Agrarian Reform

**REPUBLIC OF CUBA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS**

The Cuban Agrarian Reform is entering its fifth year. It is too soon, of course, to undertake the evaluation of all its results. But enough time has elapsed and it is now possible to discern its general lines of development.

This analysis cannot be made, however, unless one takes as a point of departure the situation that existed in our country at the time when the Revolution, led by Fidel Castro, took power after the heroic and prolonged struggle which overthrew the Batista dictatorship.

According to the last available census, before the Agrarian Reform there were 159,000 farms in the country, with a total of 676,390 caballerías¹ that is, 9,077,086 hectares of land.

These farms were distributed as indicated in the following chart. (See page 4).

From this it can be seen that 147,189 farms of less than 7.45 caballerías of land, that is, less than 100 hectares (which constituted 92.02 per cent of the total number of farms), had a total of only 195,970 caballerías of land (2,629,853 hectares), that is, only 28.98 per cent of the total farm area.

It should also be noticed that the middle-sized farms were included in the sector of farms having an area of from 7.45 to 37.25 caballerías, that is, from 100 to 500 hectares. This sector had a total of 163,460 caballerías, that is, 2,193,599 hectares of land, constituting 24.27 per cent of the total area. This was the type of farm that extended over the largest area of land.

Analyzing the composition of the 159,000 farms, we find that they are divided in the following manner; 47,792 farms managed by their owners, 9,342 managed by administrators, 46,018 farmed by tenants, 6,987 farmed by subtenants, 33,064 farmed by sharecroppers, 13,718 farmed by squatters, and 2,007 farmed by others.

¹ A caballería equals approximately 33-1/3 acres, U.S. measure.

SIZE OF FARM			TOTAL AREA				ACCUMULATED TOTAL AREA (1)		
	Caballerias	Hectares	No. of Farms	% of total	Caballerias	Hectares	% of total	Caballerias	Hectares
From	0.07	1							
To	0.36	4.9	32,195	20.13	6,410	86,033.2	0.95		
From	0.37	5							
To	0.73	9.9	30,305	18.94	15,700	210,705.7	2.32	22,110	296,738
From	.74	10							
To	1.85	24.9	48,778	30.49	54,030	725,070.9	7.99	76,140	1,021,809
From	1.86	25							
To	3.71	49.9	23,901	14.95	58,850	789,726	8.70	134,990	1,811,524
From	3.72	50							
To	7.44	99.9	12,010	7.51	60,980	818,319	9.02	195,970	2,629,853
From	7.45	100							
To	37.25	499.9	10,433	6.52	163,460	2,193,599	24.17	359,430	4,823,453.4
From	37.26	500							
To	74.71	999.9	1,442	0.90	73,960	992,530.7	10.93	433,490	5,815,984.1
From	74.72	1,000							
To	372.58	4,999.9	780	0.49	107,560	1,443,500	15.90	540,950	7,259,484
From	372.59	5,000							
and higher	and higher		114	0.07	135,440	1,817,602	20.02	676,390	9,077,085
			159,958						

¹ This encompasses the land area included in the total number of farms. Thus the first 62,500 farms in the first two categories —less than 4.9 and less than 5 to 9.9 hectares— include a total area of 22,110 caballerias, and so on.

The farms managed by their owners had a total area of 220,470 caballerías (2,958,700 hectares), with 32.4 per cent of the total area, and a mean area per farm of 4.52 caballerías (60.6 hectares).

The farms managed by administrators had a total area of 172,910 caballerías (2,320,400 hectares), encompassing 25.6 per cent of the total farmland area, with a mean size of 18.51 caballerías (248.4 hectares).

The farms in the hands of tenants extended over 202,230 caballerías (2,713,900 hectares); they constituted 30 per cent of the total area and had a mean area per farm of 4.39 caballerías (58.9 hectares).

The subtenants held 16,040 caballerías (215,200 hectares), that is, 2.4 per cent of the total area, with a mean area of 2.20 caballerías (30.8 hectares).

The sharecroppers held 41,140 caballerías (552,100 hectares), which represents 6.1 per cent of the total area, with a mean area per farm of 1.24 caballerías (16.7 hectares).

And the squatters occupied a total area of 18,230 caballerías (244,600 hectares), which represents 2.7 per cent of the total area, with a mean area of 1.33 caballerías (17.8 hectares) per farm.

The classification of farmers with less than 2 caballerías (that is, less than 26.8 hectares) is interesting. This category consisted of 34,364 tenants, 5,671 subtenants, 30,377 sharecroppers, 12,760 squatters, and 1,744 non-classified, as well as owners of less than 2 caballerías, who numbered approximately 20,000 to 25,000.

This means that of a total of 101,824 non-landowning farm workers, 84,976 (that is, 83.45 per cent) worked areas of less than 2 caballerías. All of them have now received the areas they held as their own property, as provided in the Agrarian Reform Law.

The Imperialist Latifundium ²

One very significant factor has to be added to this picture of Cuban land ownership before 1959: the U. S. sugar latifundia. The President of the National Bank of Cuba during the Batista period confessed that "Twenty-five per cent of the best lands of the island are in U. S. hands." Indeed, almost all the land owned by imperialist sugar companies was included in the 114 farms of over 373 caballerías (5,000 hectares) listed in the first chart. Nine of these companies possessed over 100,000 caballerías of land. We see this in the following chart:

	<u>Hectares</u>
Cuban Atlantic Sugar Co.	284,401
Cuban American Sugar Co.	143,862
American Sugar Ref. Co.	136,750
United Fruit Co.	109,480
West Indies Sugar Co.	109,146
Vertientes-Camagüey Sugar Co.	106,595
Manatí Sugar Co.	78,252
Francisco Sugar Co.	71,703
The Cuba Company	68,388
Punta Alegre Sugar Co.	46,594
Cuban Trading Co. ³	29,148
Guantánamo Sugar Co.	12,695
Soledad Sugar Mill	11,998
Total for the 13 principal U.S. sugar latifundia	1,209,015

² A latifundium is a vast land estate, much of which is not utilized and allowed to go to waste.

³ The Cuban Trading Co. also controlled the Francisco Sugar Co. and the Manatí Sugar Co.

This situation was typical of an underdeveloped country. None of the agrarian reforms effected in Europe faced situations such as this, nor did the agrarian revolution in China, where foreign powers did not possess such a huge amount of land as they did in our country.

The presence of the sugar latifundium made it absolutely necessary for there to be an anti-imperialist element in the Cuban agrarian revolution. It was not possible to have a true agrarian reform in Cuba without affecting the interests of the imperialist companies. Nor was it possible to wage a throughgoing battle against the imperialist domination of Cuba without affecting the vast areas of land included in the Yankee latifundia. Therefore, in the first stage of the Cuban Revolution, its agrarian content and its anti-imperialist content were inseparably linked.

Fidel Castro led the Cuban agrarian revolution with a masterly sense of tactics. The first Agrarian Reform Law was decreed in the Sierra Maestra mountains on October 10, 1958. But still —due to very precise instructions from Fidel Castro— that reform was limited to the provision that all who worked an area of less than 5 caballerías without owning it (tenants, sharecroppers, subtenants, squatters) would become owners of the land. In this manner the Revolution attracted almost 100,000 thousand farm workers who, as we have seen, were to benefit by this law. At the same time the law did not go too far in its statements against the latifundium, but still served to foretell revolutionary measures of the future. In effect, the law set the elimination of the latifundium as a later objective of the Revolution. This is not to say that imperialist magnates and —following in their footsteps— the great native latifundist were particularly frightened by that announcement. They thought that Fidel Castro would turn out to be one of the many *caudillos* known before who betrayed their promises. The history of Latin America and

Cuba was full of men who had promised "reforms" of that type without ever effecting them. In May, 1959, they were to discover —too late— their error in judgment.

The law of march 17, 1959, undertook a throughgoing transformation of Cuban agriculture. Its point of departure was the elimination of latifundia, both those owned by native Cubans and by the U. S. imperialists. The law had noble social objectives: on the one hand, to assure that all land not directly cultivated by the owners would be used for the state economy and on the other hand —fulfilling the initial law passed in the mountains— to assure that all small and middle farmers working the land without owning it would receive title to it. The Reform also had an economic objective: to create the "internal market" needed by industry, through the elevation of the standard of living in the country. This objective derived from the previous ones, since the farmers who no longer paid rent and who received other benefits from the law (fair prices, cheap credit, technical aid, etc.) were going to raise their standard of living immediately while the development of the latifundia by the state would permit the agricultural proletariat a substantial increase in income with the disappearance of unemployment, both open and "disguised." The latter takes place, for example, where five or six members of one family work an area of land that only needs two men.

All these objectives had been posed in the agrarian reform law passed in the mountains, and any careful observer will see that the "Whereas" clauses of that law are stated intact in the introduction to the law approved in May, 1959.

Putting those principles into practice, the Cuban Revolution had, nevertheless, to choose between the various possible forms. The customary thing in agrarian reform laws prior to the Cuban law had been to distribute the land of the latifundia among the landless peasants or those with little land and the agricultural

workers who requested it. We find this true of the Soviet Revolution of 1917 as well as of the agrarian laws of the European people's democracies, or the revolutionary legislation of China. Since 1905 Lenin had discussed whether the land should be nationalized —which would turn it into state property— or distributed among the peasants along with individual titles of ownership. As we know, the great revolutionary leader pointed out that nationalization was the closest measure to socialism, since it turned agricultural production into state production immediately. But in deciding this problem, Lenin bore in mind two very important features of the situation in the countryside in Czarist Russia: first, the "land hunger" of the peasants, the fact that hundreds of thousands of peasants had been landless in the days of the Czar; and second, and no less important, the fact that with the giving of the land to the peasants, in some cases with total ownership rights, in some cases with permanent leases, the peasantry would become the firm bulwark of the revolutionary process, and the alliance between the proletariat and the poor and middle farmers would thus be assured. Therefore, despite the fact that fragmenting the land into small parcels represented a delay in the socialization of agriculture —to overcome which, Lenin, basing himself on writings of Engels, would later utilize cooperative procedures which gave rise to the kolkhozes (cooperatives)— the October Revolution accepted the distribution of land, which the poor peasants themselves had already initiated on their own, occupying the land of the great landowners.

The Cuban Revolution faced the same theoretical problem. Before 1959, the genuinely revolutionary forces, those who advocated a true agrarian reform, had studied the problem and had also decided on the classic solution of distribution of the land utilized in the people's democracies of Europe and in China. One of Fidel Castro's most important contributions to the

contemporary revolutionary process was that of understanding early enough that this solution was not inevitable in Cuba, and that there were specific circumstances in our country that permitted us to take a bold leap towards forms of state agrarian ownership, which would be much closer to socialism.

In effect, latifundist exploitation in Cuba, centered principally around sugar, had established a form of agricultural development here that was based on the utilization of agricultural techniques calling for the massive use of agricultural workers with low wages. This was the continuation of the system of cultivation established by the U. S. slaveowners in the southern part of the United States. It has therefore been termed "plantation economy". This type of agriculture led to the complete separation of the workers from the land they worked. It is typical of this that on the northern coast of the provinces of Oriente and Camagüey, where the most important sugar mills were located, one could not find a single farm house for hundreds of kilometers. Manpower for the sugar harvest —and the same thing later occurred with rice— came from urban and semi-urban centers. A great number of workers who cut cane in the province of Camagüey, for example, came from the province of Las Villas and went to Camagüey only for the few months of the harvest.⁴

It is obvious that agricultural workers like these were losing their ties with the land and their love for it. Most of them spent more than half the year working on sporadic jobs in towns and cities, acquiring ideas more like those of the urban proletariat. Nor can it be forgotten that the organizational and union struggles of the agricultural proletariat —principally the sugar cane workers— acquired a level and force in Cuba that was

⁴ This explains Camagüey's great lack of manpower now that the creation of sources of local employment in Las Villas make that seasonal exodus unnecessary.

unmatched in the majority of the semi-colonial countries. This all led to the fact that the great majority of agricultural workers were not characterized by "land hunger." They aspired not to holding a small plot of land (where they had seen the poor peasantry of Cuba endure terrible hunger), but over and above all to higher wages.

From all of this, which Fidel Castro analyzed with remarkable political understanding, he proposed a specific solution for the Cuban case that would consist of:

- 1) Giving all who worked the land, without owning it, title to the land.

- 2) Utilizing the unproductive latifundia for state farms. This would encompass principally cattle land through the better use of pasture grounds and the establishment of intensive and semi-intensive pasturing and the stabling of dairy cattle.

- 3) Establishing an advanced, although intermediate, form of agricultural ownership. This was the "sugar cane cooperative". This cooperative was not exactly a cooperative of farmers, like the kolkhoz; it was composed of agricultural workers. It was a "group ownership" lacking either private land holdings or remnants of the individualist farmer mentality that holds back the kolkhoz. Fidel Castro conceived of the cooperative as a step towards the state farm. To facilitate this transition, each cooperative would have an administrator appointed by the Agrarian Reform Institute. The administrator would be a link between cooperative property and the state.

Our country's recent history has shown that Fidel Castro's conception was completely valid for the Cuban situation, and that problems derived from the non-distribution of land to agricultural workers in individual parcels have not appeared in our country. This has permitted the Socialist Revolution to find itself ready for 40 per cent of the land to pass to socialist forms of production.⁵

Land Limits of the Agrarian Reform

At the same time that the Revolution focused on the solution of the problem of nationalization or distribution of the land, it had to solve another important aspect of the Reform: the limits at which land ownership would be set. The law established 30 caballerías (400 hectares) as the maximum.

Some foreign students of our Revolution have asked why such a high figure. They compared those limits with the much smaller figures set in the most recent reforms, those in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the other people's democracies, China, etc. There are two reasons for this figure. On the one hand Cuban agriculture was, as a whole, an extensive form of agriculture, that is, only in a certain number of crops —principally tobacco— was the land totally and intensively cultivated. And on the other hand, there is the fact that in May, 1959, the Revolution did not have a socialist content. On that date the national bourgeoisie although it was already wavering, had not yet taken the road of treason and resistance that it began precisely at the time that the U. S. imperialists began their offensive against Cuba as a reprisal for the Agrarian Reform, which hit the interests of Yankee latifundism.

⁵ It is well known that Fidel Castro's concepts of the Cane Cooperative were not applied in practice. Those units of production did not become true cooperatives and were, in practice, transformed into state farms, causing discontent on the part of their members. This prevented this experiment, begun in Cuba, from being properly evaluated and able to serve as an example for similar situations in other countries in the transition period. Nevertheless, as we know, the force of the Cuban Revolution and its influence on the working masses, prevented the miscarrying of the Cane Cooperatives from turning into a problem for the revolutionary process. The sugar cane workers faith made it possible for what could have given rise to a crisis to be resolved —through a democratic decision in which all members of cooperatives participated— with the transformation of the Cooperatives into Sugar Cane Farms, thus precipitating, with good results, a process that was to last over a number of years.

The Structural Results of the Cuban Agrarian Reform

The Agrarian Reform Law meant a complete change in land holding in Cuba. It virtually eliminated the foreign and Cuban latifundium. It made almost one hundred thousand farm workers owners of the land. And it turned about 40 per cent of rural property into state property.

But to examine Cuban agriculture in the period after the Revolution, it is necessary to keep in mind that private property still is decisive in both land area as well as in productive capacity.

According to data that is still approximate, of a total area of 554,877 caballerías recorded in the Livestock Census of 1961 (7,446,560 hectares) —which as we see, does not correspond to the previous total farmland figure— the private sector has 331,665 caballerías (4,451,010 hectares), that is, 59.8 per cent of the land. This data corresponds to August, 1961, and has undoubtedly been modified since that date, with an increase in the area corresponding to the state sector during that period, principally through the abandoning of farms by landowners who left the country.

Studying the distribution of farmland corresponding to the private sector, according to that data, we find that the number of occupants of the 331,665 caballerías (4,451,010 hectares) was 165,918.

The total area was distributed in the following form:

	Number of farms	Area	
		Caballerías	Hectares
Up to 5 cab. (67 H.)	154,703	174,971.35	2,348,150.51
From 5 to 10 cab. (67-134 H.)	6,062	45,270.00	607,532.45
From 10 to 20 cab. (134-268 H.)	3,105	45,477.76	610,320.63
From 20 to 30 cab. (268-402 H.)	1,456	37,819.95	507,551.29

In addition, there were 592 farms of over 30 caballerías on that date. They still existed for the previously explained reasons and had a total area of 28,125.97 caballerías (377,456.14 hectares).

The preceding pictures helps us to understand the class content prevailing in the Cuban countryside since May, 1959. An enormous majority of farmers have less than 5 caballerías of land, and of them, no less than 120,000 have less than 2 caballerías (26.4 hectares). We could add, if we take the example of the sugar cane growers, that there is an enormous number of farmers —some 60,000— with areas of less than 1 caballería, and that among them there are over 25,000 farmers who do not own more than half a caballería.

With the agricultural techniques employed by Cuban farmers, this category of owners of less than 2 caballerías can be included —except in the case of tobacco growers— within the category of small farmers, with not many middle farmers. Those who have more than 2 and less than 5 caballerías (between 26.4 and 67 hectares fall into the categories of poor and rich farmers, in accordance with the type of crop, since those members of this group who grow tobacco, coffee or rice are invariably rich farmers.

The experiences of the Cuban Revolution coincide almost totally with experiences in other countries. The poor farmers are overwhelmingly and militantly with the Revolution. That is, they belong to "mountain battalions" and "rural militia", aiding in the pursuit of CIA agentes and fighting, at Playa Girón along with the workers. The richer farmers have not been conciliated to the existence of a revolutionary socialist process. Many of them have headed for Miami. Others have collaborated with CIA sponsored gangs.

But it could be said that due to the mass force of the Revolution in the countryside as a whole, their counterrevolutionary character and resistance are expressed more in economic terms than

in conspiratorial terms. What marks their attitude most is abandoning of the crops, lack of interest in maintaining their farms at full productive capacity.

Among those owning more than 5 caballerías, there is also an important group that is constituted not by true farmers, but rather by the agrarian bourgeoisie that does not participate in the production process, that lives in the cities and exploits its workers through administrators. Among these groups we find the most consciously and obstinately counterrevolutionary elements. They are the ones who have voluntarily exiled themselves—more so than the rich farmers themselves.

As far as the middle farmers, their attitude is also typical. In normal conditions and when the Revolution has worked well in the countryside, the enormous majority of the middle farmers have come to the side of the Revolution. But when the Revolution has committed mistakes in its dealings with the peasantry, those middle farmers have wavered from minute to minute, their support has become cooler, and some of them have gone on to active collaboration with counterrevolutionary gangs.

THE REVOLUTIONARY POLICY TOWARDS THE FARMERS

The Revolution has a well established policy towards farmers. It holds that the small farmers are the natural allies of the working class, and with it form the worker-peasant alliance. It endeavors to win over the mass of middle farmers, to an ever greater degree, because Cuban Marxist-Leninists know that this section can be—and will be—incorporated into the revolutionary process. Our country's revolutionaries aim to win their firm support.

In regard to the rich farmers, we know very well that they cannot—except for personal exceptions, which are always possible—sympathize with the Revolution. Nor can the Revolution aid

them to strengthen their position, because in the long run there is an insurmountable contradiction between the two. That is why we limit ourselves to upholding the revolutionary legality established in the 1959 Law, respecting the rights of this group as long as they are within the provisions of our laws.

The revolutionary policy of aiding small and middle farmers is carried out through the granting of low-interest credits, the setting of adequate prices for their produce, assistance in plowing and other mechanical tasks through the Enterprise of Machine Services for Small Farmers, the furnishing of insecticides and fertilizers, etc. ANAP, the National Association of Small Farmers, has been the means for applying this policy.⁶

But that policy has not always been applied correctly. It may be said that in the second half of 1961 and the first two months of 1962 serious mistakes were made in our relations with the small and middle farmers, mistakes that influenced those farmers' attitude towards the Revolution, even if only momentarily, and which resulted in a perceptible drop in the planting and marketing of farm produce which was felt throughout 1962, although mainly from March to November. This aggravated the situation created by two years of drought, the above mentioned mistakes in the administration of cane cooperatives and the lack of organization in the People's Farms.

Those mistakes were of two types.

First, there were *economic* mistakes. Because of the increase in the buying power of the Cuban people during 1960-1961 (over

⁶ In the process of carrying out this activity, ANAP began assuming administrative functions (in regards to credits and supplies) that have affected its main purpose, that of functioning as a mass organization. The reorganization of INRA will assign these functions to our central agricultural organization, INRA itself. The ANAP Congress to be held in May will fully analyze those mistakes of "administrativism"; this, along with changes in the leadership, will produce a marked improvement in its work among small and middle farmers.

\$500,000,000 yearly), there was a great growth in the demand for agricultural products.⁷ At the same time, the organizational weakness of state agriculture prevented a rise in production to match that rise in demand. Because of this the position of the private farmers in the market became very strong with the creation of what is known as a "sellers market". It is understandable that in response to this situation the great mass of farmers—even the small farmers—should display its class tendency towards profit. An open resistance to marketing produce through the INRA machinery began to take place; rather it was deviated towards speculative marketing (at times a pound of malanga hit a "normal" price of almost 50 cents, while a pound of chicken could be sold for over two pesos). That situation exasperated not only those comrades in charge of marketing, but also some local political leaders and even comrades in charge of marketing, but also some local political leaders and even comrades in the Revolutionary Armed Forces in some areas. All this resulted in an incorrect attitude towards the farmers. Instead of hitting at the middlemen, there was an attempt to force the farmers to sell to INRA, even to the point of confiscating their produce through methods completely at variance with revolutionary law. The farmers resisted these measures in the ways we have mentioned above.

But there were other factors that made the situation still more complex. After Playa Girón, the CIA and its agents tried to strengthen the counterrevolutionary gangs that had already been

⁷ The rice in demand for malanga and coffee are two good examples of this point. Until the end of 1961, consumption of malanga in Havana was never above 100,000 pounds daily—that is, 700,000 weekly. At present we are delivering 250-270,000 pounds of malanga daily to Greater Havana. The consumption of coffee had never been above 80,000,000 pounds yearly in our country. Now we have had to set some limitations in order to maintain consumption under 100,000,000 pounds yearly.

dealt a fatal blow during clean-up operations in the Escambray mountains. That counterrevolutionary activity found a response in more than a few rich farmers in the southern area of Matanzas and the southwest of Las Villas (Rodas, Aguada, etc.). The Revolution decided to deal another blow, this time an economic, one, to those collaborating with the bandit CIA agents. It therefore decreed the expropriation of the land of all farmers giving aid to the counterrevolution and of those holding land areas of 15 to 30 caballerías who gave them indirect aid or in any manner promoted counterrevolutionary attitudes. But when Fidel explained this policy of adopted by the National Leadership, he made it very clear that all those measures had to be taken with the participation and consideration of the small and middle farmers, in ANAP meetings, and without harming that section, the great majority of the farmers.

Nevertheless, it is notorious that serious errors were committed, particularly in the province of Matanzas. Revolutionary law was not respected. Poor and rich were hit indiscriminately, without taking into consideration all the circumstances in each case. Instead of discussing with the farmers themselves about the measures to be taken, in many cases meetings were held mainly with the agricultural workers, who, carried only by their class feelings, tended at all times towards expropriation:

Those mistakes would have the revolutionary process very dear had not the prestige of the Revolution and the faith of the masses in comrade Fidel Castro prevented a crisis. Fidel analyzed those errors in March, 1962, in a national meeting of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations attended by leaders from all provinces. The measures discussed in that meeting were put into effect by the new INRA leadership, with the efficient aid of the provincial ORI committees.

Thanks to this correction of the policy towards the farmers, it has been possible to consolidate the revolutionary influence

among the farmers, assure the cultivation of the land by the individual farmers and prevent the CIA from continuing to recruit agents in the countryside. At the same time, INRA has returned a number of illegally expropriated farms, which gave confidence to middle farmers—and to certain rich farmers—in regard to our upholding of revolutionary law. This has facilitated the participation of rich farmers in those areas in rice production, and to some degree also in cane production.

Although the political situation of the Cuban farmers is as a whole favorable for the development of the revolutionary process, there is no question that the existence of such a strong private sector within the economy brings about disadvantages in agrarian development.

Those disadvantages have been less noticeable in the last two years, due to inefficiencies in the state sector. Due to the weaknesses of the People's Farms and Cane Farms, the contrast between individual agriculture and what could and will be a progressive state agriculture is still not evident in Cuba.⁸

However, it is obvious that the great dispersion of farmers (174,703 individual producers) entails numerous problems. It is virtually impossible to tackle a methodical planning of private crops. The objectives of the agricultural-livestock plan in this sector can only be fulfilled through the price incentives (stimulating some types of production and discouraging others) as well as through granting of credits, supplying fertilizers, seeds, etc.

⁸ This article would be excessively long if we stopped to make an analysis of the advances and the deficiencies of state agriculture before and after the proclamation of socialism in our country. In a future article, dealing with the present state of Cuban agriculture, it will be possible to analyze those aspects of the problem, complementing that analysis with an explanation of the organizational plan of INRA and the agricultural-livestock production units.

A production plan for the private sector does not exist in practice; the most important aspect is the delivery plan formed through contracts the farmers sign with ANAP bodies that serve as intermediaries in marketing. Even then, since, except in the case of sugar cane, tobacco and rice, the farmers has full freedom to dispose of his products, unless he receives credits or supplies of a technical or material nature from the State (in which case he must sell 75 per cent of his produce to the State), it may happen that amounts of products other than that foreseen in the plan should reach the market.

Another considerable difficulty is that of planning the technical and material supplies to individual producers. This is the case, for instance, with sickles for the rice crop, wagons, grinding stones, rope; gloves, yoke pads, files, etc., for the sugar crop. An idea of the complexity of this problem is given in the following table, which shows the distribution of the *colonos* or cane growers in our country.

PRIVATE SECTOR: TOTAL AREA AND AREA
PLANTED WITH SUGAR CANE

	Number of Cane Farms	Total area in caballerias	Area Planted with Cane (in caballerias)	Arrobas * of Cane to deliver in 1962
Cane farms up to 2 caballerias	49,515	42,728,244	20,469,349	819,245,795
From 2.001 cab. to 5.000 cab.	10,972	34,841,228	13,185,527	522,725,772
From 5.001 cab. to 10.000 cab.	3,433	24,461,506	8,368,215	337,642,177
From 10.001 cab. to 20.000 cab.	1,658	23,507,046	7,740,258	325,148,479
From 20.001 cab. to 30.000 cab.	652	16,838,970	5,583,405	235,263,851
Over 30.000 caballerias	116	4,761,823	1,093,399	59,350,187
	66,346	147,138,817	56,440,152	2,299,376,261

* An arroba equals 25 pounds.

As we see in the above table, there are 66,346 private growers, who supplied 1,910,491,000 *arrobas* of cane in the 1962 harvest, 59.84 per cent of all the cane harvested that year.

But this table does not show the situation in its entirety. Among those 66 346 *colonos* there are 38,104 who supply less than 20,000 *arrobas* of cane; the real supply average is 9,000 *arrobas* per grower which represents $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *caballería* per capita.

In order to acquire 353,000,000 *arrobas* of cane, the State has to deal with 38,104 individual growers. The State could harvest those 353,000,000 *arrobas* in less than 6,000 *caballerías* of land—that is, in 60 or 70 medium-sized Cane Farms. The amount saved in effort, planning, organization and material would be extraordinary.

The future of agricultural cooperation

The solution to this problem—as regards small and middle farmers—will come through their voluntary incorporation into collective, cooperative forms of production. Two different forms of this have already begun developing.

The less advanced form is the so-called Credits and Services Cooperative, where the farmers join only to receive credit and supplies in a more centralized fashion. These cooperatives have developed mainly in the field of tobacco production. There are at present 527 cooperatives of this type, composed of 46,133 members, which a total area of 32,274 *caballerías*.

The results of these credit and services cooperatives have been outstanding, and they could have served as a starting point for higher forms of cooperation if ANAP had given greater encouragement to this form of association.

The second and more advanced way in which individual farmers cooperate is the Agricultural-Livestock Society, promoted by comrade Fidel Castro. In these societies, the farmers use the land and work tools collectively.

So far these experimental Agricultural Livestock Societies have had a small number of partners and land areas of under 10 caballerías (134 hectares). However, there are some larger scale tests, among which the first and most important is the "Itabo" Cooperative, in the Yaguajay area, which is an excellent example of productivity and high profits.

Nevertheless, in our personal opinion, the necessary conditions do not yet exist in Cuba for an accelerated development of cooperative farming among small and middle farmers.

The reasons can be well understood. In the first place, there are deficiencies in state agriculture, which have begun to be corrected in the last few months, but which still do not encourage private farmers to engage in socialist forms of production. In the second place, there is the difference between the structure of small landholding in Cuba and in the majority of the countries where an agrarian reform has been carried out amid a Socialist Revolution.

For instance, in Hungary, after the agrarian reform, the landholdings of 561,209 farmers were less than 5 arpendes per capita, that is, less than 1/5 of a caballería; there were also 386,000 farmers with landholdings between 5 and 10 arpendes, and 203,000 farmers with landholdings from 10 to 20 arpendes.

The Hungarian agrarian reform distributed land to 642,000 farmers, and each received an average of 5.1 arpendes (1/5 of a caballería).

In Bulgaria, the small size of the landholdings had given rise to a cooperative movement since 1939. In Czechoslovakia, the Agrarian Reform carried out by the Socialist Revolution limited land distribution to 8 hectares of arable land or 12 hectares of other land, except in the case of very large families, where the limits were 10 hectares of arable land and 13 hectares of other

land. Even before the Revolution there were several hundred thousand farmers with little more than 1 hectare as an average, and we see that here too small landholdings were the rule.

It is true that the small landholders in those countries employed a much more developed type of agriculture than do most of our farmers at present, but the difference between the landholdings of the so-called small Cuban farmer after our Reform and that in European countries and China is considerable.

In those European countries and in China, small landholdings practically push the farmer into cooperative forms of production, because without them the application of modern techniques—mainly machinery, harvesters, fumigators, etc.—would be very difficult. In Cuba, instead, the advantages gained by individual farmers after the Reform, that is, low cost credits, adequate prices, aid from State-supplied machinery, seeds, fertilizers, etc., along with larger landholdings, has made it possible for there to be a "sellers' market", such as we have described above, where the small and middle farmers have not felt any compelling need to join, because their income is comparatively high. In practice, the present situation rather favors the age-old individualistic tendency of the farmers.

In order to create the conditions leading to a spontaneous movement towards cooperative production, several factors will be necessary:

- 1.—Development of state agriculture to such a degree that individual farmers may see for themselves the advantages of socialized agriculture. As long as the yield per area of the state sector is lower than that of the private sector, this will not come about. That is why the results obtained in crops such as rice, tomatoes and potatoes are so important; in these fields, socialist state agriculture is beginning to equal and surpass the best private agriculture in our country.

2.—As a result of this, the availability of products destined for the population will increase, which will put an end to the absolute and relative shortages created in 1962. Thus the "sellers' market" will disappear and the farmers' attitude will change, since their relative strength in the Cuban economy will also change.

3.—It will be necessary —and this is the most important condition, on which the other two rest— for ANAP to carry out political work raising the socialist consciousness of small farmers, promoting the ideas of cooperation among them, and turning those farmers into a model for middle farmers.

This process will not have to wait long to be carried out. The new organization of our work, the improvement in the techniques of the state sector, and the political and organizational strengthening of ANAP, once freed from its purely administrative activities, will allow us to create in a brief period the conditions for rapid development of the cooperative movement initiated in the agricultural-livestock societies and the credits and services cooperatives.

Some results of the Reform

During 1962, taking advantage of the shortages —sometimes absolute and sometimes relative—, the imperialist press and its counterrevolutionary cohorts spoke of a supposed crisis in Cuban agriculture as a result of the Agrarian Reform.

We have already explained the circumstances causing the shortage in 1962. In the case of root vegetables (malanga, sweet potatoes, yucca, yams, etc.) the lack of vision of the state sector of the economy was combined with the displeasure of the individual farmers; we have referred to this already. In the case of rice, the bad use of techniques, particularly in the fumigation period, and the lack of a rational utilization of labor power, caused a drop in comparison to previous years of the

revolutionary period. In the case of beef, the shortage was not absolute, but relative, in comparison to prerevolutionary years, since the slaughter of cattle, even in 1962, was higher than that of any year prior to the Révolution. Yet that amount of beef is still not sufficient to satisfy the demand of a population in which, as in the case of farmers and agricultural workers, 96 per cent did not usually eat meat, according to statistics published in 1956 by the Catholic University Students Association. Only 1 per cent of these rural families ate fish, while only 2.12 per cent ate eggs, and only 11.22 per cent drank milk.

But, analyzing Cuban production figures, we see that, as Fidel Castro has said, this is the only agrarian reform in which production did not drop with the reform. This is true until the end of 1961, and it is true for agricultural-livestock production as a whole, except for sugar cane, until 1962.

Examining the gross and net figures for Cuban agriculture between 1959 and 1962, we notice an increase in non-cane agriculture, in cattle raising, in forestry and in fishing, although, as we have already seen, the increase is not even. For instance, there are variations in the rice harvest; the highest harvest in those years was in 1959-60, with 670,720,800 pounds; there was a good harvest in 1961, and yet there was a drop in the harvest in relation with the consumption of 1962.

Also, as we have already said, there was a drop in the production of root vegetables in 1962. Yet, in that same year, we had a bean harvest that was perhaps the largest ever in Cuba, and very high tomato and potato harvests.

To evaluate the results of the Reform, we have to examine the Cuban economy as a whole, the forms of exploitation of the land, the new crops, the increase in yield in the traditional crops, in short, everything characterizing all that is new in agricultural and livestock production in Cuba since the Revolution.

Those who think that the stagnation of the sugar industry in 1962 and 1963 will continue, should take into consideration the fact that the errors in outlook committed in 1961 were corrected beginning in early 1962. The effects of that thorough correction of our sugar cane policy will be felt in the 1964 harvest. The planting of cane in 1962 represents a land increase of 5,548 caballerias aside from re-planting which amounts to 7,437 caballerias. The 1963 plantings will represent an additional 5,869 caballerias over and above the required re-planting, and the projected plantings for 1964 will represent a further increase of 6,000 caballerias.

All together, these three years of work will reclaim an area of 17,417 caballerias for the cane economy, which will be sufficient, along with the proper use of fertilizers, irrigation and a correct choice of species for a harvest—in 1965—of over 7 million tons of sugar, with normal weather conditions, and of no less than 6.5 million tons if we continue suffering the effects of the drought in some areas of the country, such as the north coast of Camagüey and Oriente provinces, where there have been two years of absolute drought.

Diversification of crops

From the first, the Revolution set itself the task of eliminating our dependance on only one crop and diversifying our agricultural production. This would result, on the one hand, in cutting our food imports down to the minimum; this situation has been truly shameful for a land as fertiles as ours. On the other hand, it would supply raw materials for our national industry. In both aspects this would result in an increase in surplus for agricultural and industrial exports.

The figures show the results of this policy. Before the Revolution, farmland was used in Cuba as follows:

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USE	AGRICULTURAL CENSUS — 1946			ESTIMATE — 1957		
	Thousands of Hectares	Caballerias	% of Total	Thousands of Hectares	Caballerias	% of total
Pasture land	3,897	290	42.90	4,006	298	44.08
Crops	1,970	147	21.75	2,044	152	22.49
Forests	1,266	94	13.90	1,107	83	12.28
Others ¹	1,944	145	21.45	1,920	143	21.15
Totals:	9,077	676	100.00	9,077	676	100.00

¹ Marabú and others (roads, buildings, improductive land).

The figures show an enormous amount of land dedicated to cattle breeding. According to the most reliable estimates, in 1957 the proportion of cattle to land was one head of cattle per hectare.

In comparison, the amount of land dedicate to crops was extremely low, above all when we consider that of the 152,000 caballerías (2,039,870.4 hectares) estimated to have been cultivated in 1957, no less than 100,000 caballerías (1,342,020 hectares) were planted with cane, which left only 52,000 caballerías (697,850.4 hectares) for general crops.

This index of the distribution of land among the different crops is self-explanatory. It shows the harmful effects on the development of Cuban agriculture by imperialist domination and the structural deformation it aggravated (a deformation which already existed as a result of Spanish rule and the semi-feudal conditions we inherited from it).

In order to understand the influence of the landowning structure on the use of the land, let us examine the following table:

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Type of Ownership	TOTAL AREA		PERCENTAGE		
	Thousands of Caballerias	Hectares	Crops	Pasture	Other uses
Proprietors	220.47	2,958.7	16.2	50.1	11.3
Administrators	172.91	2,320.4	14.9	43.7	41.4
Tenants	202.23	2,713.9	28.3	39.1	32.6
Subtenants	16.04	215.2	36.8	42.9	20.3
Share Croppers	41.14	552.1	40.7	31.2	28.1
Squatters	18.23	244.6	21.1	24.4	54.5
Others	5.37	72.1	29.0	21.9	49.1
Totals:	676.39	9,077.0	21.7	42.9	35.4

From this table we can deduce that the great landowners (who held the largest proportion in total area of land exploited by owners or administrators) devoted the majority of their land to pasture; on the other hand, the area devoted to crops increased proportionately among the tenants and subtenants.

In order to extend crops, the Revolution has considered utilizing a considerable area of land now overgrown with marabú, estimated in 1957 to be over 45,000 caballerías (603,909 hectares).

Since the victory of the Revolution, over 30,500 caballerías (409,328 hectares) have been cleared and made ready for farming. During this, however, occurred one of the several disproportions which have rendered part of our work in agriculture ineffective, and which also reflect the lack of organization we have been suffering. It happened that the capacity for clearing the land was not accompanied by an equal capacity to plow it, due primarily to the lack of heavy harrows to do the plowing in the newly cleared land. Therefore, as not all of the new land was plowed, part of it is still idle, and in some places the marabú has begun growing again.

This problem is being solved at present through the manufacturing of substitutes for heavy harrows. Likewise, the clearing of marabú land is being organized after considering the plowing capacity, in order to avoid useless work and to take full advantage of all machinery.

The Revolution has also freed flooded land for agriculture. Comrade Fidel Castro's personal interest has resulted in the draining now taking place in the Zapata swamps and in the southern part of the province of Havana. The total area drained in those zones is 470 caballerías (6,307.5 hectares). A total land area of 300 caballerías (4,026.1 hectares) is also being drained elsewhere.

Besides the new land freed through clearing and draining, the Revolution also decided that lands which were formerly dedicated to cattle latifundia or planted unnecessarily with sugar cane should properly be used for diversified crops.

As is known, the People's Farms were established mainly on the land of the former cattle latifundia. That land was not exactly the best for agriculture, since sugar cane plantations, imperialist and Cuban-owned latifundia, had monopolized a good portion of the best land of the nation. Also, the agrarian bourgeoisie (growers, of rice, corn, etc.) had settled on the rest of the best agricultural land. There remained, however, natural grazing areas and semi-idle land which could and should be used with profit for diversified crops.

The increase in the arable land area since the victory of the Revolution can be best understood from the table on the following page.

As can be seen, state agriculture has 1,447,000 hectares, that is, 107,822.5 caballerías, under cultivation.

When we consider that 548,000 hectares of that land are devoted to cane, and 440,000 hectares to cultivated pastures, we see that almost 500,000 hectares are devoted to crops in the state sector, which means that crops in this sector encompass as much land area today as the total area dedicated to crops in the whole agricultural sector of the economy prior to the Revolution, despite the fact that state land encompasses only 40 per cent of the total land area.

PEOPLE'S FARMS

	Thousands of Cabs.	Hect.	Percentage
Temporary crops	19.1	256.7	9.6
Permanent crops	37.5	502.9	17.4
Divided into:			
Cane	3.9	52.0	
Cultivated Pasture	28.8	386.2	
Fruits	3.2	42.5	
Coffee	0.5	6.7	
Henequen	0.9	12.7	
Others	0.2	2.8	
Natural Pasture	64.7	868.4	30.7
Arable area	33.6	451.1	15.9
Forest area	32.0	429.3	15.2
Homes and buildings	1.7	22.9	0.8
Non-arable land	23.3	312.8	11.0
Total area	211.9	2,844.1	

CANE FARMS

	Thousands of Cabs.	Hect.	Percentage
Temporary crops	8.6	115.8	13.1
Permanent crops	37.0	497.2	56.0
Divided into:			
Cane	33.8	453.8	
Cultivated Pasture	2.4	32.5	
Fruits	0.6	8.2	
Coffee	0	0	
Henequen	0	0	
Others	0.2	2.7	
Natural Pasture	9.6	128.1	14.4
Arable area	5.3	71.5	8.1
Forest area	1.2	15.9	1.8
Homes and buildings	1.9	25.6	2.9
Non-arable land	2.5	33.2	3.7
Total area	66.1	887.3	12.8

	STATE FARMS ⁹			Totals for the three groups	
	Thousands of Cabs.	Hects.	%	Thousands of Cabs.	Hects.
Temporary crops	0.6	7.4	4.3	28.3	379.9
Permanent crops	5.0	67.1	39.1	79.5	1,067.2
Divided into:					
Cane	3.2	43.4			
Cultivated Pasture	1.6	22.0			
Fruits	0.1	0.9			
Coffee	0.1	0.8			
Henequen	0	0.			
Others	0	0.1			
Natural Pasture	5.4	72.6	42.2		
Arable area	1.3	17.0	9.9		
Forest area	0.1	1.7	1.0		
Homes and buildings	0.1	2.0	1.2		
Non-arable land	0.3	4.0	2.3		
Total area	12.8	171.9			

There are a number of figures which will show us the development of diversification since the Agrarian Reform.

For instance, the potato production in the year 1958-59 was 138,100,000 pounds, jumping to 211,800,000 pounds in the year 1959-60. It reached 192,100,000 pounds in 1960-61, and 200,803,000 in 1961-62. This year we expect the biggest crop in the history of Cuba, which will be no less than 220,000,000 pounds. This figure is given after harvesting 70 per cent of the crop.

Tomato production had never totalled 100 million pounds before the Revolution. In 1959, it was 82,027,600 pounds; in 1960, 192,563,000 pounds; in 1961, 241,600,000 pounds, and in 1962, as a result of the drought and some organizational errors, it dropped to 211 million pounds. The planned crop for 1963 is over 200 million pounds.

⁹ State farms are agricultural enterprises which enter the state sector when abandoned by their owners or because of counterrevolutionary activities on their part. Some are later assigned to other people's farms, and others remain in this category permanently due to being too distant from other people's farms or cane farms.

New Crops

The Revolution has developed new crops, particularly industrial crops. This is true of cotton; there had only been minor experiments in this field before the Revolution.

The Revolution has increased production of cotton as follows: 1960-61, 30,409,800 pounds of raw cotton; 1961-62 28,244,967 pounds; 1962-63, 31,600,000 pounds. The plans for development of the cotton industry call for a national production sufficient to supply the textile industry, not only the plants already established, but all those to be established in the future, according to the plans for expansion of the textile industry in coming years, which demand no less than 30,000 tons yearly.

The cultivation of kenaf (a fibrous plant) has likewise begun to be developed; 25 caballerías were planted in 1961; 54.5 caballerías in 1962, and 206 caballerías are being planted in 1963.

Cultivation of oleaginous seeds has also been developed since the Revolution.

Livestock production

The national cattle breeding industry suffered a great drop at the beginning of the Revolution due to the indiscriminate slaughter carried out in 1960 and 1961. With the increase in the buying power of the population and the lack of control over the slaughter, it reached an estimated figure of almost 2 million head of cattle in those two years. It is evident that our cattle industry was not prepared to supply an increase of 300,000 head of cattle more each year to the slaughter houses. In order to meet this consumption, it was necessary to slaughter young steers, cows that could still bear young, etc.

In order to preserve the cattle supply and facilitate the development of beef cattle in such a manner as to be able to increase the per capita consumption of meat in the future, the

Revolution had to take two successive steps. The first was to prohibit the slaughtering of cows able to bear young, and the second was to set limits for the slaughter according to the industry's real capacity.

According to the 1945 and 1946 census, the number of head of cattle in the country was 3,891,089 and 4,115,733 respectively. In 1952 it was 4,421,250. In the 1961 cattle census made by JUCEPLAN, the figure was 5,776,558. In 1962 the figure was 6,138,176, and at the end of 1963 we should have 6,381,250 head of cattle.

The development of the cattle industry, on this basis, assures an index of growth that will make possible a minimum per capita beef consumption by 1965 of no less than 56.0 pounds yearly.

Through the initiative of comrade Fidel Castro, the Revolution has paid special attention to hog production.

Before, the national hog production dependend almost entirely on the *criollo* hogs, which were bred in a rather haphazard way, without hygienic care or any sort of system. In 1960 and 1961 Cuba imported 30,000 female hogs of different breeds (Landrace, Yorkshire, Polland Chine, etc.) in order to guarantee fast growth of hog production.

We must admit that the state of disorganization which then prevailed in our agriculture, and our lack of experience, caused the loss (during and after birth) of a great number of piglets. We also lacked sufficient installations to house the newborn.

For this reason, during 1962, and even in the first months of 1963, the development of purebred hogs did not increase at the rate foreseen in the plans. With the relative improvement of organization, the establishment of adequate sanitary measures (vaccination against brucelosis and other diseases) and with the introduction of planning in this field of economic development

(which has brought about the building of installations for the different phases), it can be stated that the period of real development of the hog supply has begun, to such a degree as to guarantee production by the state sector of almost 200,000 heads. This production will jump to 1 million in 1964, and 1.5 million in 1965. To this we must add the slaughter of hogs by individual farmers, both for their own consumption as well as for sales outside the Consolidated Meat Enterprise.

There have also been ups and downs in poultry production due to our inexperience, and to negligence and disorganization. Had the measures promoted by comrade Fidel Castro during 1960 and 1961 been accompanied by proper methods and the corresponding planning of all installations by those in charge of building them, we would have been able to market over 4 million chickens a month in 1962, with an average weight of 2.6 pounds.

However, due to the negative factors just listed, chicken production did not reach all its potential development, and it will only be after June of this year that we will be able to market 4 million chickens monthly. During the first three months of 1963, delivery to the population has increased considerably, totalling 2,322,000 chickens in February and 2,577,000 in March. These figures do not include chickens consumed by scholarship students or by workers in the People's Restaurants; nor does it include those consumed on the chicken farms by the workers' families.

The same factors also influenced egg production. It can now be stated that the supply of eggs to the population by the state sector will increase constantly. In January we marketed 13,539,000 eggs; in February, 13,801,000; and in March, 17,418,000. It is planned to market 27 million eggs in December, 1963.

The development of cattle production in all aspects requires a great quantity of fodder. The lack of a haymaking tradition in our country, the rare use of root vegetables for hog feed on People's Farms, the insufficient use of other sources of feed, that is, the bad utilization of resources that are used to the maximum in other countries, has demanded that we increase mixed feed production to 891,009 metric tons in 1963, with an import value of 23,395,000 trade dollars and 5,489,000 hard dollars.

It is evident that Cuba cannot and should not keep up those high importation figures. Therefore, it is not only necessary to immediately begin using all those foods we have previously mentioned, but also to make a decisive effort to increase our production of corn, millet, oil cakes, beef and fish flour, etc., which constitute the largest portion of the importations that now weigh so heavily on the national economy in the fodder field.

Likewise, it is necessary to increase the pasture and forrage areas, to bring about an increase in intensive and semi-intensive grazing, as well as an increase in haymaking and silage. In this sense, great importance must be given to research to find the type of grass which fits our climate and soil best, and to find the breed of beef and dairy cattle that fare best under our conditions.

The Experimental Pasture and Grazing Station already functioning near the España Republicana sugar mill, and the tests carried out at the Santiago de las Vegas Experimental Station and on several Sugar Cane Farms are the beginning of a large-scale project to select the best forrage crops for our cattle.

Outlook

These are, in brief, the characteristics and main results of the Cuban Agrarian Reform; its outlook is even more promising.

The Revolution has tackled the road of correcting errors, of making organizational and structural changes which, as we have already said, would require another article.

The application of all these measures will strengthen the work of the Cuban Agrarian Reform and there will be even greater possibilities of increasing our national agricultural and livestock production. Thus we will satisfy —as established in the introduction to the Agrarian Reform Law— the growing demands of our population, the increase of our exports surplus demanded by our country's economic development, and our means of supplying our agriculturally-based industries, which must also grow constantly, just as the consumption capacity of a society based on the fundamental law of Socialism will grow constantly.

When the enemies of the Cuban Revolution blockaded it economically, when they deprived it of fuel, spare parts, agricultural machinery and transportation, they believed they were strangling the Revolution. But, as comrade Fidel Castro has said on so many occasions, the help given us by the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union in the forefront, the indomitable energy and boldness of our people, make it possible for us to resist.

In the future, that resistance will become victory, for the progress of the Cuban economy is assured through the improvement of our leadership, our greater experience in planning, our better methods of organization. Thus, Latin America will regard the Cuban Agrarian Reform, as well as all other achievements of the Socialist Revolution, as an example —not just because of its particular characteristics, but rather because it demonstrates that a people can eliminate all vestiges of semi-feudalism, semi-colonialism and backwardness, and be victorious over enemies that are seemingly all-powerful.

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THE REVOLUTION AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS IN CUBA

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REPUBLIC OF CUBA
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

1962
Year of Planning

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Foreword

The general adherence of all classes in our country to the revolutionary movement which triumphed on the first of January, 1959, was followed, along with its radicalization and its measures on behalf of the common people, by first vacillation, then retreat, and lastly frank repudiation of the Revolution by those who up to then had enjoyed special privileges. The attitude of the intellectuals who represented the official culture of previous periods, the culture of the classes affected by the Revolution, was in keeping with the attitude of their patrons. These pseudo-intellectuals had a defined position: they were against the Revolution.

On another side, regarding the Revolution from another point of view, were the intellectuals who were loyal to it. However, even many of these honest revolutionaries, enthusiastic workers, men of working and middle class backgrounds, found that the march of the Revolution, that unfamiliar and rapid march animated by an unsurpassed, constructive rhythm, that tide that swiftly wrote in or erased names, institutions, events, moved only by social justice, that growing wave amazed them, and, in a certain sense, awoke certain fears in them.

When Dr. Fidel Castro, meeting with the writers and artists on the eve of their First Congress, referred to the Yenan Forum, he revealed the nature of the cultural problems, in our country.

In the famous Yenan Forum in 1942, Mao Tse-tung could, in the midst of a bloody war of yet unforeseeable results, orient the honest intellectuals to participate along with men of other classes; the workers and peasants, in the construction of a new society in China. In Cuba, when the Revolution began its work, that clear, firm orientation was lacking. But the Revolution itself proved to be

an exceptional school. Therefore, conscious of the need for all sympathizers with the Revolution to participate in its work, on November 19, 1960, the most advanced of the Cuban writers and artists issued a manifesto—"Towards A National Culture Serving the Revolution"—that only a few months later would be regarded as historic. Its publication marked the beginning of the enthusiastic work of artists and writers to unite, to take a position, to play a specific role in the revolutionary process.

The publication of the manifesto was very timely. Events that filled us with great hopes but that marked directions fraught with difficulties and obstacles for our Revolution, obliged us all to formulate clear, unmistakable definitions. The promulgation of the First Declaration of Havana shortly before by the people of Cuba, gathered in a National General Assembly, and the adoption of measures such as the nationalization of large foreign and domestically owned companies in Cuba, marked steps of unprecedented importance for the Revolution. It was the exact moment to either state adherence to the cause of the workers and farmers or to rise against them. The Cuban writers and artists formulated an unmistakable declaration. In the November document they proclaimed their irrevocable commitment to the Revolution and to the people.

In the introduction to the statement of their points of view and the formulation of their immediate program, the writers and artists considered it their first duty to state their public creative responsibility to the Revolution and the Cuban people, "in a period," they proclaimed, "of united struggle to achieve the complete independence of our country as a nation." They declared that "the victory of the Revolution has created among us the essential conditions for the development of national culture, a liberating culture, capable of encouraging revolutionary progress." In accordance with the above premises and the fact that "the unity of purpose of contemporary Cuban intellectuals is obvious in their works as well as in their efforts to spread culture among the people throughout the revolutionary period and during the years of struggle that preceded it," the intellectuals clearly defined their revolutionary position.

The immediate program set forth by the writers and artists was in keeping with these declarations. They stated, as the first point, that they aspired to the "recovery and development of our cultural tradition, which is rich in human content and was wrested away from our people by the colonialists and the imperialists." The second point of the program was to "preserve, encourage, purify and utilize our folklore, spiritual wealth of the Cuban people, which the Revolution is liberating and reevaluating." They added that they "consider sincere and honest criticism indispensable to the work of artists and intellectuals," and that they "should try to achieve full identification between the character of our works and the needs of our advancing revolution. The purpose is to bring the people close to the intellectual and the intellectual close to the people, which does not necessarily imply that the artistic quality of our work must thereby suffer." The declaration pointed out, concerning Latin America, that "exchange, contact, and cooperation among Latin American writers, intellectuals and artists are vital for the destiny of our America." And from a still more far-reaching point of view, "Mankind is one. Our national heritage is part of world culture, and world culture contributes to our national aspirations."

On the basis of these ideas, the preparatory work of the First National Congress of Writers and Artists began. But the mobilization in January, 1961, when aggression by imperialism seemed imminent, took many intellectuals to the trenches; the mobilization, and later the aggression itself, with its historic defeat at Playa Girón, forced the postponement of this great assembly. But the Revolution advanced constantly. On April 16, the Prime Minister, Dr. Fidel Castro, proclaimed the socialist character of our Revolution.

The new orientations called for new meetings to be held previous to the Congress. Dr. Fidel Castro, accompanied by high figures of the Revolutionary Government, met with the intellectuals and dealt with their problems. Many questions dealing with cultural activity were discussed on June 16, 23, and 30, in the auditorium

of the National Library; there the Prime Minister dispelled fears and clarified the Revolution's policy in regard to culture and intellectuals.

Thus, with the assurance that artistic freedom was guaranteed absolutely and totally, the Congress opened on August 18, anniversary of the death of Federico García Lorca. The motto adopted for the Congress proclaimed: "To Defend the Revolution is to Defend Culture." The agenda was based on the program set forth in the November Declaration.

On the opening night, the President of the Republic, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, spoke about the road that the delegates to the Congress must take. "Artists and writers must go to the people—not descending, but ascending to them... in the people is to be found the source of future works, the daily inspiration and the supreme inspiration. And to the people the literary or artistic products must finally return: a return of the treasures which the people give to the artists every day."

On the morning of August 19th, poet Nicolás Guillén took a journey through Cuban history, from which he returned asking the artists and writers to create a "socialist, humanist culture that will give the ordinary man in the street everything that was denied him by the Colony in the 19th century and monopolized by an exclusive sector of the ruling class of that society... a culture that will liberate and exalt us and distribute both bread and roses without shame or fear".

The publication in this book of Fidel's words to the intellectuals and the speeches by Dorticós and Guillén will enable English-speaking friends of Cuba throughout the world to form a clear idea of the spirit with which the Revolution is tackling the problem of culture. Without exception, the only condition that of being unequivocally on the side of the people, the Cuban Revolution protects the rights of creators, of scientists, of intellectuals. Even more, it stimulates their work and opens new horizons to them. With a better world in view, writers and artists, side by side with the people of whom they are a part, are helping to build the society of the future.

words to
the intellectuals

Fidel Castro



FIDEL CASTRO

Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, General Secretary of the National Committee of ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organizations).
Leader of the Cuban Revolution

On June 16, 23, and 30, meetings were held in the auditorium of the National Library in Havana, in which participated the most representative figures of the Cuban intelligentsia. Artists and writers had full opportunity to discuss and expound their points of view on different aspects of cultural activity and problems related to creative work. Present at the meetings were the President of the Republic, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado; the Prime Minister, Dr. Fidel Castro; the Minister of Education, Dr. Armando Hart; members of the National Council of Culture, and other representatives of the government.

Comrades:

After three sessions in which various problems related to culture and creative work were discussed, in which many interesting questions were raised and different points of view expressed, it is now our

turn. We shall not speak as the person best qualified to deal with this matter, but because we feel it necessary to express certain points of view.

We were very interested in these discussions, and I believe we have demonstrated what might be called "great patience." But actually, no heroic effort was necessary on our part, because for us it has been an enlightening discussion and, said in all sincerity, a **pleasant experience**. Of course, in this type of discussion we, the men of the government, are not the most qualified to express an opinion on questions in which you are specialists. At least... that is my case.

The fact that we are men of the government and revolutionary leaders does not mean that we are obliged (although perhaps we are) to be experts in everything. It is possible that if we took many of the comrades who have spoken here to a meeting of the Council of Ministers to discuss the problems with which we are most familiar, they would feel the way we feel now.

We have been an active force in this Revolution, in the socio-economic Revolution taking place in Cuba. That socio-economic Revolution will inevitably produce a cultural Revolution.

On our part, we have tried to do something in this field (although the beginning of the Revolution presented more pressing problems). We might criticize ourselves by saying that we had somewhat neglected the discussion of a question as important as this. That is not to say that we had forgotten it completely; a discussion like this was already being thought of by the government. Months ago we intended to call a meeting to analyze the cultural problem, but important events kept taking place in rapid succession, preventing an earlier meeting. However, the Revolutionary Government has been taking measures that express our concern with this problem. Something has been done, and several members of the government, on more than one occasion, have brought the question up. For the time being it can be said that the Revolution itself has already brought about changes in the cultural field, that the artists' conditions of work have changed.

I believe that some pessimistic aspects have been somewhat over-emphasized: I believe that worries have been expressed here that are without foundation. The actual changes that have occurred in this field and the present conditions of artists and writers have been almost passed over in the discussion. Comparing with the past, it is unquestionable that Cuban artists and writers now work under better conditions than in the past, which was truly discouraging for artistic endeavor. If the Revolution started off by bringing about a profound change in the atmosphere and conditions of work, why fear that this same Revolution would destroy them?

It is certain that this is not a simple problem. It is certain that it is the duty of all of us to analyze it carefully. It is your obligation as well as ours. It is a problem that has arisen many times and in all revolutions. It is a most complicated problem, not easily solved.

The different comrades who have spoken here expressed a great many points of view, and they gave their reasons for them. The first day there was a little timidity in broaching the subject; it became necessary for us to ask the comrades to tackle the subject squarely, to say that everyone here should say openly what worried him.

If we are not mistaken, the fundamental problem that hung in the atmosphere here was the problem of freedom of artistic creation. When writers from abroad have visited our country, political writers above all, these questions have been brought up more than once. It has undoubtedly been a subject of discussion in all countries where profound revolutions like ours have taken place.

By chance, shortly before we returned to this hall, a comrade brought us a pamphlet including a brief conversation between us and Sartre on this subject. It was taken from Lisandro Otero's book "Conversations at the Lake" ("Revolución," Tuesday, March 8, 1960).

A similar question was asked us on another occasion by Wright Mills, the North American writer.

I must confess that in a certain way these questions found us a little unprepared. We did not have our Yenan Conference with Cuban artists and writers during the Revolution. In reality, this is a revolution whose period of gestation and arrival to power took place in what we might call record time. Unlike other revolutions, it did not have all the principal problems resolved.

One of the characteristics therefore has been the necessity of facing problems under the pressure of time. And we are like the Revolution, that is, we have improvised quite a lot. Therefore it cannot be said that this Revolution has had either the period of gestation that other revolutions have had, nor leaders with the intellectual maturity that the leaders of other revolutions have had. We believe that we have contributed as much as we could to the present happenings in our country. We believe that with the effort of all we are carrying out a true Revolution, and that this Revolution is developing and seems destined to become one of the important events of the century. However, despite that fact, we who have had an important part in these events do not consider ourselves revolutionary theoreticians or intellectuals. If men are judged by their deeds, perhaps we would have the right to consider our merit to be the Revolution itself. And yet we do not think so, and believe that we should all have similar attitudes, regardless of what our work has been. As meritorious as our work may seem, we should begin by placing ourselves in the honest position of not presuming that we know more than others, of not presuming that our points of view are infallible, and that all who do not think exactly as we do are mistaken. That is, we should place ourselves in an honest position, not of false modesty, but of true evaluation of what we know. If we place ourselves in that position, I believe that it will be easier to advance with confidence. If we all adopt that attitude, you as well as we, subjective attitudes will disappear, that certain subjective element in the analysis of the problems will disappear too. Actually, what do we know? We are all learning. We all have much to learn, and we have not come here to teach; we have come to learn too.

There have been certain fears, and some comrades have expressed those fears.

Listening to them, we thought at times that we were dreaming. We had the impression that our feet were not firmly on the ground. Because if we have any fears or worries today, they are connected with the Revolution itself. The great concern of all should be the Revolution itself. Or do we believe that the Revolution has already won all its battles? Do we believe that the Revolution is not in danger? What should be the first concern of every citizen today? Should it be the concern that the Revolution is going to go beyond what is necessary, that the Revolution is going to stifle art, that the Revolution is going to stifle the creative genius of our citizens? Should it be the dangers, real or imaginary, that might threaten the creative spirit, or the dangers that might threaten the Revolution itself?... It is not a question of our invoking this danger as a simple point of argument; we wish to say that the concern of all revolutionary writers and artists, of all writers and artists who understand the Revolution and find it just, should be: What dangers threaten the Revolution and what can we do to help the Revolution? We believe that the Revolution still has many battles to fight, and we believe that our first thought and first concern should be: What can we do to assure the victory of the Revolution? That comes first, the Revolution itself, and then, afterwards, we can concern ourselves with other questions. This is not to say that we should not think of other problems, but that the fundamental concern in our mind should be the Revolution.

The problem that has been under discussion here and which we are going to tackle is the problem of freedom of writers and artists to express themselves.

You have been worrying about whether the Revolution will choke this freedom, whether the Revolution will stifle the creative spirit of writers and artists.

Freedom of form has been spoken of here. Everyone agrees that freedom of form must be respected. I believe there is no doubt as regards this point.

The question is more delicate, and actually becomes the essential point of discussion, when one deals with freedom of content. This is a subtle matter, as it is open to the most diverse interpretations. The most controversial point of this question is: should we or should we not have absolute freedom of content in artistic expression? It seems to us that some comrades defend the affirmative. Perhaps because of fear that what they consider prohibitions, regulations, limitations, rules, authorities, will decide on the question.

Permit me to tell you in the first place that the Revolution defends freedom; that the Revolution has brought the country a very high degree of freedom; that the Revolution cannot by its very nature be an enemy of freedom; that if some are worried about whether the Revolution is going to stifle their creative spirit, that worry is unnecessary, that worry has no reason to exist.

What can be the reason for such worry? Only those who are not sure of their revolutionary convictions can be truly worried about that problem. He who does not have confidence in his own art, who does not have confidence in his ability to create, can be worried about this matter. And it should be asked whether a true revolutionary, whether an artist or intellectual who feels the Revolution and who is sure that he is capable of serving the Revolution, has to face this problem, that is, if doubts may arise for the truly revolutionary writers and artists. I feel that the answer is negative, that doubt is left only to the writers and artists who, without being counterrevolutionaries, are not revolutionaries either. And it is correct that a writer or artist who is not truly revolutionary should pose that question; that an honest writer or artist, who is capable of comprehending the cause and the justice of the Revolution without being part of it, should face that problem squarely. Because a revolutionary puts something above all other questions; a revolutionary puts something above even his own creative spirit; he puts the Revolution above everything else. And the most revolutionary artist is the one who is ready to sacrifice even his own artistic calling for the Revolution.

No one ever thought that every man, every writer, or every artist has to be a revolutionary, as no one believes that every man or every revolutionary has to be an artist, or that every honest man, for the very reason that he is honest, has to be a revolutionary. To be a revolutionary is also to have an attitude towards life, to be a revolutionary is also to have an attitude towards existing reality; there are men who are resigned and adapt themselves to reality, and there are men who are not able to resign or to adapt themselves to that reality but try to change it; that is why they are revolutionaries. But there can be men who adapt themselves to reality and are honest men, except that their spirit is not a revolutionary spirit, except that their attitude towards reality is not a revolutionary attitude. And there can be, of course, artists, and good artists, who do not have a revolutionary attitude towards life, and it is for precisely that group of artists and intellectuals that the Revolution constitutes a problem.

For a mercenary artist or intellectual, for a dishonest artist or intellectual, it would never be a problem; he knows what he has to do, he knows what is in his interest, he knows where he is going.

The real problem exists for the artist or intellectual who does not have a revolutionary attitude towards life but who is, however, an honest person. It is clear that he who has that attitude towards life, whether he is revolutionary or not, whether he is an artist or not, has his goals, has his objectives, and we should all ask ourselves about those goals and objectives. For the revolutionary, those goals and objectives are directed towards the change of reality; those goals and objectives are directed towards the redemption of man. It is man himself, his fellow man, the redemption of his fellow man that constitutes the objective of the revolutionary. If they ask us revolutionaries what matters most to us, we will say *the people*, and we will always say *the people*. *The people* in their true sense, that is, the majority of the people, those who have had to live in exploitation and in the cruelest neglect. Our basic concern will always be the great majority of the people, that is, the oppressed and exploited classes. The point of view through which we view everything is this: what-

ever is good for them will be good for us; whatever is noble, useful, and beautiful for them, will be noble, useful and beautiful for us. If one does not think of the people and for the people, that is, if one does not think and does not act for the great exploited masses of the people, for the great masses which we want to redeem, then one simply does not have a revolutionary attitude.

It is from this point of view that we analyze the good, the useful, and the beautiful of every action.

We understand that it must be a tragedy when someone understands this and nonetheless has to confess that he is incapable of fighting for it.

We are, or believe ourselves to be, revolutionaries. Whoever is more of an artist than a revolutionary cannot think exactly the same as we do. We struggle for the people without inner conflict, we know that we can achieve what we have set out to do. The principal goal is *the people*. We have to think about the people before we think about ourselves, and that is the only attitude that can be defined as a truly revolutionary attitude. And it is for those who cannot or do not have that attitude, but who are honest people, that this problem exists; and just as the Revolution constitutes a problem for them, they constitute a problem with which the Revolution should be concerned.

The case was well made that there were many writers and artists who were not revolutionaries, but were, however, honest writers and artists; that they wanted to help the Revolution, and that the Revolution is interested in their help; that they wanted to work for the Revolution and that, at the same time, the Revolution was interested in their contributing their knowledge and efforts on its behalf.

It is easier to appreciate this when specific cases are analyzed; and among those specific cases are many that are not easy to analyze. A Catholic writer spoke here. He raised the problems that worried him and he spoke with great clarity. He asked if he could make an interpretation of a determined problem from his idealistic point of

view or if he could write a work defending that point of view. He asked quite frankly if, within a revolutionary regime, he could express himself in accordance with those sentiments. He posed the problem in a form that might be considered symbolic.

He was concerned about knowing if he could write in accordance with those sentiments or in accordance with that ideology, which was not exactly the ideology of the Revolution. He was in agreement with the Revolution on economic and social questions, but his philosophic position was distinct from that of the Revolution. And this case is worthy of being kept well in mind, because it is a case representative of the group of writers and artists who demonstrate a favorable attitude towards the Revolution and wish to know what degree of freedom they have within the revolutionary conditions to express themselves in accordance with their feelings. That is the group that constitutes a problem for the Revolution, just as the Revolution constitutes a problem for them, and it is the duty of the Revolution to be concerned with these cases; it is the duty of the Revolution to be concerned with the situation of those artists and writers, because the Revolution ought to bend its efforts towards having more than the revolutionaries, more than the revolutionary artists and intellectuals, move along with it. It is possible that the men and women who have a truly revolutionary attitude towards reality do not constitute the greatest sector of the population: the revolutionaries are the vanguard of the people, but the revolutionaries should bend their efforts towards having all the people move along with them, the Revolution cannot renounce the goal of having all honest men and women, whether writers and artists or not, moving along with it; the Revolution should bend its efforts towards converting everyone who has doubts into a revolutionary. The Revolution should try to win over the greatest part of the people to its ideas; the Revolution should never give up counting on the majority of the people, counting not only on the revolutionaries, but on all honest citizens who, although they may not be revolutionaries, that is, although they may not have a revolutionary attitude towards life, are with the Revolution.

The Revolution should give up only those who are incorrigible reactionaries, who are incorrigible counterrevolutionaries. Towards all others the Revolution must have a policy; the Revolution has to have an attitude towards those intellectuals and writers. The Revolution has to understand the real situation and should therefore act in such a manner that the whole group of artists and intellectuals who are not genuinely revolutionaries can find within the Revolution a place to work and create, a place where their creative spirit, even though they are not revolutionary writers and artists, has the opportunity and freedom to be expressed. This means: within the Revolution, everything; against the Revolution, nothing. Against the Revolution, nothing, because the Revolution has the right to exist, and no one shall oppose the right of the Revolution to exist. Inasmuch as the Revolution understands the interests of the people, inasmuch as the Revolution signifies the interests of the whole nation, no one can justly claim a right in opposition to the Revolution.

I believe that this is quite clear. What are the rights of the writers and artists, revolutionary or non-revolutionary? Within the Revolution, everything; against the Revolution, nothing.

And there is no exception for artists and writers. This is a general principle for all citizens. It is a fundamental principle of the Revolution. The counterrevolutionaries, that is, the enemies of the Revolution, have no claims against the Revolution, because the Revolution has the right to exist, the right to develop, and the right to succeed. And who could cast doubt on that right, the right of a people who have said, *Our Country or Death*, that is, *The Revolution or Death*?

The life of the Revolution or nothing —the life of a Revolution that has said, "WE WILL WIN," that is, that has made a serious statement of its purposes. And respectable as the personal reasons of an enemy of the Revolution may be, the rights and reasons of a Revolution have more weight, the more so as a Revolution is an historic process, as a Revolution is not and cannot be a result of caprice.

of the will of one man, as a Revolution can only be the need and the will of a people. And before the rights of an entire people, the rights of the enemies of the people do not count.

We were speaking of extreme cases only in order to express our ideas more clearly. I have already said that among those extreme cases there is a great variety of mental attitudes and there is also a great variety of worries. To be concerned about some aspect of the Revolution does not necessarily mean that one is not a revolutionary. We have tried to define basic attitudes.

The Revolution cannot be trying to stifle art or culture when one of the goals and one of the fundamental purposes of the Revolution is to develop art and culture, so that our artistic and cultural treasures can truly belong to the people. And just as we want a better life for the people in the material sense, so do we want a better life for the people in a spiritual and cultural sense. And just as the Revolution is concerned with the development of the conditions and forces that will permit the people to satisfy all their material needs, so do we also want to create the conditions that will permit the people to satisfy all their material needs, so do we also want to create the conditions that will permit the people to satisfy all their cultural needs.

Is the cultural level of our people low? Until this year a high percentage of the people did not know how to read and write. A high percentage of the people have known hunger, or at least live or used to live under wretched conditions, under conditions of misery. Part of the people lack a great many of the material goods they need, and we are trying to bring about conditions that will permit all these material goods to reach the people.

In the same way we should bring about the necessary conditions for all cultural manifestations to reach the people. This is not to say that the artist has to sacrifice the artistic worth of his creations. It is to say that we have to struggle in all ways so that the artist creates for the people and so that the people in turn raise their cultural level and draw nearer to the artist. We cannot set up

a general rule: all artistic manifestation are not of exactly the same nature, and at times we have spoken here as if that were the case. There are expressions of the creative spirit that by their very nature are much more accessible to the people than other manifestations of the creative spirit. Therefore it is not possible to set up a general rule, because we have to ask the questions: What principles of expression should the artist follow in his effort to reach the people? What should the people demand from the artist? Can we make a general statement about this? No. It would be oversimplified. It is necessary to strive to reach the people in all creative manifestations, but in turn it is necessary to do all we can to enable the people to understand more, to understand better. I believe that this principle is not in contradiction to the aspiration of any artist —and much less so if it is kept in mind that men should create for their contemporaries.

We say that there are no artists who create only for posterity, because, without considering our judgement infallible, I believe that whoever is proceeding on this assumption is a victim of self-hypnosis.

And that is not to say that the artist who works for his contemporaries has to renounce the possibility of his work becoming known to posterity, because it is precisely by being created for the artist's contemporaries, regardless of whether his contemporaries have understood him or not, that many works have acquired historical and universal value. We are not making a Revolution for the generations to come, we are making a Revolution with this generation and for this generation, independently of its benefits for future generations and its becoming a historic event. We are not making a Revolution for posterity; this Revolution will be important to posterity because it is a Revolution for today and for the men and women of today.

Who would follow us if we were making a Revolution for future generations?

We are working and creating for our contemporaries, without depriving any artistic creation of aspirations to eternal fame.

These are truths that we should all analyze with honesty. And I believe that it is necessary to start from certain basic truths in order not to draw false conclusions. We do not see that any honest artist or writer has reason for concern. We are not enemies of freedom. No one here is an enemy of freedom. Whom do we fear? What authority is going to stifle our creative spirit? Do we fear our comrades in the National Council of Culture? In talks we have held with members of the National Council of Culture we have observed feelings and points of view that were far removed from the concerns expressed here about limitations on style, expression, etc., imposed on the creative spirit.

Our conclusion is that our comrades in the National Council of Culture are as concerned as all of you about the bringing about of the best conditions for the creative endeavors of artists and intellectuals. It is the duty of the Revolution and the Revolutionary Government to see that there is a highly qualified organization which can be relied upon to stimulate, encourage, develop, and guide, yes, guide, that creative spirit; we consider it a duty. And can this perhaps constitute an infringement on the rights of writers and artists? Can this constitute a threat to the rights of writers and artists, implying that there will be arbitrary measures or excessive authority? It would be the same as being afraid that the police will attack us when we pass a traffic light. It would be the same as being afraid that a judge will condemn us. The same as being afraid that the force existing in the Revolutionary Power may commit an act of violence against us.

We would then have to worry about many things. And nevertheless, the attitude of the citizen is not that of believing that the militiaman is going to fire at him, that the judge is going to punish him, that the State Power is going to use violence against his person.

The existence of an authority in the cultural order does not mean that there is reason to be worried about that authority being abused. Who thinks that such a cultural authority should not exist?

By the same token, he could think that the Police should not exist, that the State Power should not exist, and also that the State should not exist, and if anyone is so anxious for the disappearance of the slightest traces of State authority, then let him stop worrying, let him have patience, for the day will come when the State will not exist either!

There has to be a Council that guides, that stimulates, that develops, that works to create the best conditions for the work of the artists and the intellectuals. And what organization could be the best defender of the interests of the artists and the intellectuals if not that very Council? What organization has proposed laws and given rise to various kinds of measures to raise those conditions, but the National Council of Culture? What organization proposed a law for the creation of the National Publishing House to remedy those defects that have been pointed out here? What organization proposed the creation of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore, but the National Council? What organization has advocated the making available of the allocations and foreign currency necessary for importing books that had not entered the country in many months; the buying of material so that painters and plastic artists can work? What organization has been concerned with the economic problems, that is, with the material conditions of the artists? What organization has been concerned with a whole series of presentday needs of writers and artists? What organization has defended, within the government, the budgets, the buildings, and the projects directed at improving your working conditions? That organization is none other than the National Council of Culture.

Why view that Council with reservation? Why fear that it will do exactly the opposite: limit our conditions, stifle our creative spirit?

It is possible to conceive of someone with no problems at all being concerned about that authority: but in reality those who appreciate the necessity of all the steps the Council has had to take, and all the work it has to do, cannot ever look at it with reserva-

tions, because the Council also has an obligation to the people and it has an obligation to the Revolution and to the Revolutionary Government. And that obligation is to fulfill the objectives for which it was created, and it has as much interest in the success of its work as each artist has in the success of his.

I don't know if I've failed to touch upon some of the fundamental problems that came up here. The problems involved with a certain film were discussed a great deal. I have not seen the picture, although I want to see it, I am curious to see it. Was the picture dealt with unfairly? As a matter of fact, I believe that no picture has received such honors and that no picture has been so discussed.

Although we have not seen that picture, we have referred to the judgment of comrades who have seen it, including the President and different members of the National Council of Culture. And their opinion deserves respect from all of us; but there is something I believe cannot be disputed, and that is the right established by law to exercise the function that was exercised in this case by the Board of Censors. Perhaps that right of the government is being disputed? Does or doesn't the government have the right to exercise that function? For us, what is fundamental in this case is, above all, to determine if the government did or did not have that right; the question of procedure could be discussed, as it was, to determine if it was fair or not, if another procedure would have been better, if the decision was just or not. But there is something that I believe no one is entitled to dispute, and that is the government's right to exercise that function. For if we challenge that right then it would mean that the government does not have the right to review the pictures that are going to be shown to the people.

And I believe that this is a right that cannot be disputed. There is, in addition, something that we all understand perfectly, and that is that among manifestations of an intellectual or artistic nature there are some that are more important than others as far as the education or the ideological development of the people is concerned. And I do not believe that anyone can dispute the fact that one of

these fundamental and highly important media is the movies, as well as television. Now, can anyone dispute, in the midst of the Revolution, the government's right to control and censor the pictures that are shown to the people? Is it perhaps this that is being disputed?

And can the Revolutionary Government's right to supervise those mass media, that so influence the people, be considered a limitation or a prohibition?

If we challenge that right of the Revolutionary Government, we would be faced with a problem of principles, because to deny that right to the Revolutionary Government would be to deny the Government its function and its responsibility (and above all in the midst of a revolutionary situation) in leading the people and the Revolution; at times it has seemed that this right was being challenged, and to avoid any misunderstanding we are now stating that our opinion is that the government has that right. And if it has that right, it can make use of that right. It can make mistakes, we are not pretending that the government is infallible. The government, acting in exercise of a right or function that belongs to it, does not necessarily have to be infallible. But who has so many reserves with respect to the government, who has so many doubts, so many suspicions, who distrusts the Revolutionary Government so much that when he believes one of its decisions to be wrong, he is terror-stricken and thinks that the government will always be wrong? I am not saying that the government was mistaken in that decision; what I am saying is that the government acted in exercise of a right. I am trying to put myself in the place of those who worked on that picture. I am trying to place myself in their state of mind, and I am trying to understand their displeasure and pain when the picture was not shown. Anyone can understand that perfectly; but they too have to understand that the government acted within its rights, and that this judgment had the support of competent men, responsible men in the government, and that there is no reason for distrusting the spirit of justice and fair play of the men of the Revolutionary Government, for the Revolutionary Government has given no one reason to doubt its spirit of justice and fair play.

We shouldn't think that we are perfect, we shouldn't even think that we are free from emotion. Some could point out that certain comrades in the government are emotional, or not far from being emotional; and those who believe this, can they assure us that they are free from emotion?

And can they attribute attitudes of a personal nature to some comrades without accepting the fact that their own opinions could also be inspired by attitudes of a personal nature? Let's say here that whoever feels perfect or free from emotion can be the one to throw the first stone.

I believe that there has been a personal and emotional element in the discussion. Did everyone come here absolutely stripped of personal prejudices and emotions? Certainly not. If a six-year-old child had been seated here, he too would have noticed the different currents and points of view, the different emotions that were confronting one another. Our friends have said many things. They have said interesting things. Some have said brilliant things. All have been very "erudite." But above all there has been reality, the reality of discussion and the freedom with which all have been able to express themselves and defend their points of view. The freedom with which all have been able to speak and explain their criteria in the midst of a large meeting, which has grown larger by the day, a meeting that we consider a positive meeting, a meeting where we could dispell a whole series of doubts and worries. Have there been quarrels? Undoubtedly. Have there been wars and skirmishes here among the writers and artists? Undoubtedly. Has there been criticism, and supercriticism? Undoubtedly. Have some comrades tried out their weapons at the cost of other comrades? Undoubtedly.

The wounded have spoken expressing their resentment at what they consider unfair attacks. Fortunately, we've had no corpses, only the injured, including comrades who are still convalescing from their wounds. And some of them presented as an evident injustice the fact that they had been attacked with large-caliber cannons without having the power to even make a riposte. Have strong criticisms been made? Undoubtedly! And in a certain sense a problem has been

raised here that we are not going to pretend to be able to elucidate in two words. But I believe that of the things that have been said here, one of the most correct is that the spirit of criticism ought to be constructive, ought to be positive and not destructive. But in general, it is not kept in mind. For some the word criticism has come to be a synonym of attack, when it really means no such thing. When they tell someone, "So-and-so criticized you," that person gets angry before asking what was really said about him. That is, he thinks that he was torn apart. If, in reality, those of us who have been a little removed from these problems or struggles —these skirmishes and tests of weapons— were told about the case of some comrades who have almost been at the edge of deep depression because of demolishing criticism leveled against them, it is possible that we would sympathize with the victims, because we have the tendency to sympathize with victims. We who sincerely want only to contribute to the understanding and unity of all, have tried to avoid words that could wound or discourage anyone; but it is an unquestionable fact that there have been struggles or controversies where conditions were unequal. That, from the point of view of the Revolution, cannot be just. The Revolution cannot arm some against others, and we believe that the writers and artists should have every opportunity to express themselves. We believe that the writers and artists, through their association, should have a broad cultural magazine open to all. Doesn't it seem to you this would be a fair solution? But the Revolution cannot put those resources in the hands of one group. The Revolution can and should mobilize those resources in such a manner that they can be widely utilized by all writers and artists. You are going to constitute an association of writers and artists soon, you are going to attend a Congress. That Congress should be held in a truly constructive spirit, and we are confident that you are capable of holding it in that spirit. From it will rise a strong writers' and artists' association where all who have a truly constructive spirit can take part, because if anyone thinks we wish to eliminate him, if anyone thinks we want to stifle him, we can assure him that he is absolutely mistaken.

And now is the time for you to contribute in an organized way and with all your enthusiasm to the tasks that are yours in the Revolution, and to constitute a broad organization of all writers and artists. I do not know if the questions that have been raised here will be discussed at the Congress, but we know that the Congress is going to meet, and that its work, as well as the work that is to be done by the association of writers and artists, will be good topics for discussion at our next meeting. We believe that we should meet again; at least, we don't want to deprive ourselves of the pleasure and usefulness of these meetings which have served to focus our attention on all these problems. We have to meet again. What does that mean? That we have to continue discussing these problems. That is, everyone can rest assured, the government is greatly interested in these problems, and the future will hold ample opportunity for discussing them. It seems to us that this should bring satisfaction to the writers and artists, and we too look forward to acquiring more information and knowledge.

The National Council of Culture should also have an information agency. I think that this is putting things in their right place. And this cannot be called cultural imposition or stifling of the creative spirit. The Revolution wants the artists to put forth their maximum effort on behalf of the people. It wants them to put the maximum interest and effort into revolutionary work. We believe that the Revolution has the right to want this.

Is that to say that we are going to tell the people here what they have to write? No. Let each one write what he wants, and if what he writes is not good, that is his problem. We do not prohibit anyone from writing on the theme he prefers. On the contrary, let each person express himself in the form he considers best, and let him express freely the idea he wants to express. We will always evaluate his creation from the revolutionary point of view. That too is a right of the Revolutionary Government, as worthy of respect as the right of each to express what he wants to express.

A series of measures are being taken, some of which we have mentioned. We wish to inform those who were concerned with the problem of the National Publishing House that a law is under consideration to regulate its functioning, create different editorial divisions, see to the needed diversity, and mend the deficiencies existing at present. The National Publishing House is a recently created organization that made its appearance under difficult conditions, because it had to begin working in the plant of a newspaper that closed suddenly (we were present the day that newspaper plant became the leading printing shop of the country, with all its workers and editors), and it had to attend to the publication of urgently-needed works, including many of a military nature. The National Publishing House does have deficiencies, but they will be remedied. There will be no reasons for complaints such as the ones expressed here, in this meeting, about the National Publishing House. Measures are also being taken to acquire books, to acquire work materials, that is, to resolve all the problems that have concerned the writers and artists and with which the National Council of Culture too has been concerned. For as you know, the State has different departments and different institutions and, within the State, each is anxious to have the resources necessary for doing its job well. We want to point out some areas where we have already advanced, areas that should be sources of pride for all of us. Look at the success attained by the Symphony Orchestra, for instance, which has been completely reorganized, and not only has reached a high level in the artistic sense, but also in the revolutionary sense, for there are now 50 members of the Symphony Orchestra who are militiamen.

The Ballet de Cuba has been rebuilt and has just made a tour abroad where it won admiration and recognition in all the countries it visited.

The Modern Dance Group has also been quite successful, and has been highly praised in Europe.

The National Library too is working hard on behalf of culture. It is engaged in awakening the interest of the people in music and painting. It has set up an art department with the object of making fine paintings known to the people. It has a music department, a young people's department, and a children's section.

Shortly before coming to this hall, we were visiting the Children's Department of the National Library; we saw the number of children who were there, the work that is being done there. The progress made by the National Library is reason enough for the government to give it the means needed for continuing that work. The National Publishing House is now a reality, and with the new forms of organization it is being given, it is also a victory for the Revolution that will contribute mightily to the education of the people.

The National Institute of the Motion Pictures Industry is also a reality. The first stage has consisted chiefly in supplying it with needed equipment and material. The Revolution has established at least the basis of a movie industry. It has established it at the cost of great effort, if it is kept in mind that ours is not an industrialized country and that the acquisition of all that equipment has meant sacrifices. If we haven't any more facilities as regards the movies, this is due not to a restrictive governmental policy, but simply to the scarcity of economic resources at present for creating amateur movements that would permit the development of all cinematic talent. This will be done when we have those resources available. Policy in the Motion Picture Institute and the introduction of emulation among the different work crews of the Institute will also be discussed. It is not possible to discuss the work itself of the Institute. There has not yet been time to do enough work to be judged, but it has worked, and we know that a number of its documentaries have contributed greatly to making the Revolution known abroad. But what we should emphasize is that the foundation for the movie industry has already been laid.

There has also been much cultural work done through publicity, talks, etc., sponsored by different agencies; but it is, after all, nothing compared to what can be done and what the Revolution intends to do.

There are still a number of questions to resolve that are of interest to writers and artists. There are problems of a material order, that is, of an economic order. Yesterday's conditions do not exist now. Today there is no longer that small privileged class that used to buy the works of artists —although at miserable prices, we know that, since more than one artist ended in indigence and oblivion. These problems remain to be faced and solved, and the Revolutionary Government should solve them, and the National Council of Culture should be concerned with them, as well as with the problem of artists who can no longer produce and are completely forsaken. They should guarantee the artists not only proper material conditions for the present, but security for the future. In a certain sense, now, with the reorganization of the Copyrights Institute, the living conditions of a great number of authors and composers, who were miserably exploited and whose rights were scoffed at, have been improved considerably. Today writers who used to live in extreme poverty have incomes that permit them to live decently.

These are steps that the Revolution has taken; but they are only preliminary steps, they will be followed by other steps that will create better conditions yet.

There is also the idea of organizing some place where artists and writers can rest and work. Once, when we were travelling throughout the whole national territory, the idea occurred to us in a very beautiful place, the Isle of Pines, to build a place of rest in the middle of a pine forest, where we could honor writers and artists (at that time we were thinking about establishing some sort of prize for the best progressive writers and artists of the world). That project did not materialize, but it can be revived and a place can be created in some peaceful haven that invites rest, that invites writing. I believe that it is well worth-while for artists, and architects as well, to begin thinking of and planning the ideal place of rest for a writer or artist, and to see if they agree. The Revolutionary Government is ready to contribute its share to the budget.

And will planning be a limitation imposed on the creative spirit by us, the revolutionaries? Because, in a certain sense, don't forget that we, the revolutionaries, who have been working somewhat on our own, are now faced with the reality of planning; and that presents a problem to us too, because until now we have had a creative spirit towards revolutionary initiative and revolutionary investments, which now have to be planned out. So don't believe that we are removed from the problem, for, from our point of view, we could protest too. That is, now that it is known what is going to be done next year, the year after that, and the year after that. Who is going to dispute the fact that it is necessary to plan the economy? But the construction of a place of rest for writers and artists fits in with that planning. Truly, it would be a source of satisfaction for the Revolution to be able to count that project among works accomplished.

We have been concerned here with the present situation of writers and artists. We seem to have forgotten future perspectives somewhat. And we, who have no reason to grumble about you, have also dedicated a moment to thinking about the artists and writers of the future. We wondered what it would be like if the men of the government —not us necessarily— and the artists and the writers were to meet again, as they should, in the future, in five or ten years, when culture has acquired the extraordinary development that we plan for it, when the first fruits of the present educational program begin appearing.

Long before these questions were raised, the Revolutionary Government was already concerned about the extension of culture to the people. We have always been very optimistic. I believe that it is not possible to be a revolutionary without being an optimist. For the difficulties that a Revolution has to surmount are very serious, and one has to be an optimist. A pessimist could never be a revolutionary.

The Revolution has had stages. There was a stage when different agencies took the initiative in the field of culture. Even INRA (the National Institute of the Agrarian Reform) was conducting activities of a cultural nature. We even clashed with the National Theater, for certain work was being done there and suddenly we were off doing other work on our own. Now all that is within one organization.

In connection with our plans for the countryside, there arose the idea of spreading culture to the people of the farms and co-operatives. How? Well, by training music, dance, and drama instructors. Only optimists can propose things like this. Well, how were we to awaken love for the theater, for example, in the farmer? Where were the instructors? Where would we get instructors to send out to 3,000 People's Farms and 600 Cooperatives, for example? All this presents difficulties, but I am certain that all of you agree that if it is achieved it will be a positive accomplishment, especially the discovery of talents in the people and the conversion of the people from spectators into creators, for ultimately it is the people who are the great creators. We should not forget this, and neither should we forget the thousands and thousands of minds lost in our countryside and cities due to lack of opportunity to develop. Many talents have been lost in our countryside, of that we are sure, unless we presume ourselves to be the most intelligent people of this country, and I want to say that I presume no such thing.

I have often given as an example the fact that of several thousand children in the place where I was born, I was the only one who was able to study at the university. And I had to first attend a number of schools run by priests, etc. etc... I don't want to anathematize anyone, although I do want to say that I have the same right as anyone else here to say what I want, to complain. I have the right to complain. Someone spoke of the fact that he was molded by bourgeois society; I can say that I was molded by something worse yet, that I was molded by the worst of reaction, and that a good many years of my life were lost in darkness, in superstition, and in lies.

That was the time when they did not teach one to think, but forced one to believe. I am of the opinion that when man's ability to think and reason is impaired he is turned from a human being into a domesticated animal. I am not rebelling against the religious sentiments of man; we respect those sentiments, we respect man's right to freedom of belief and religion. But they did not respect my right to this freedom. I had no freedom of belief or religion; they imposed a belief and a religion on me and domesticated me for twelve years.

Naturally I have to speak in complaining tones about those years, the years when youngsters have the greatest amount of interest and curiosity in things, years I could have employed in systematic study that would have let me acquire the culture that the children of Cuba today are going to have every opportunity to acquire.

Before our Revolution, the one of a thousand who could get a university degree had to pass through that millstone where only by a miracle he was not crushed mentally forever. Thus that one of a thousand had to go through all that.

Why? Ah, because he was the only one of a thousand who could afford to study at a private school. Now, am I going to believe therefore that I was the most capable and the most intelligent of the thousand? I believe that we are a product of selection, but not natural selection so much as social. I was selected to go to the university socially, by a process of social selection, not natural selection. Who knows how many tens of thousands of young people, superior to all of us, have been left in ignorance by social selection. This is the truth. And he who believes himself an artist should remember that there are many, much better than he, who have not had the opportunity to become artists. If we do not admit this, we are evading reality. We are privileged, among other things, because we were not born the sons of wagon-drivers. I think what we have said shows the enormous number of talented minds that have been lost simply through lack of opportunity.

We are going to bring opportunity to everyone; we are going to create the conditions that permit all talent, artistic, literary, scientific, or otherwise, to develop. And think about the significance of a Revolution that permits such a thing, and that has already begun teaching all the people to read and write, that will have accomplished this by the next school term, and that —through schools everywhere in Cuba, through campaigns and with newly trained teachers— will be able to bring to light all talent, and this only the beginning. All the teachers in the country will learn how to recognize which child has special talent, and will recommend which child should be given a scholarship for the National Academy of Art, and at the same time they will awaken artistic taste and love for culture in the adults. Some tests that have already been made demonstrate the capacity of the simple farmer and man of the people for assimilating artistic questions, for assimilating culture and immediately beginning to produce it. There are comrades who have been on some cooperatives that now have their own drama groups. Recent performances given in various places of the Republic, and the artistic creations of men and women of the people, demonstrate the interest of the country people in all these things. Imagine, then, what it will mean when we have drama, music, and dance instructors on each Cooperative and each People's Farm.

In the course of only two years, we will be able to send a thousand instructors, for each one of these fields of art, more than a thousand.

The schools have been organized. They are already functioning. Imagine when there will be a thousand dance, music, and drama groups throughout the island, in the country —we are not speaking of the city, it is somewhat easier in the city— what that will mean in cultural advance, because some have spoken here about the need to raise the level of the people —but how? The Revolutionary Government is creating conditions so that within a few years our culture, the level of the cultural background of our people, will have been raised extraordinarily.

We have selected those three branches, but we can continue selecting other branches and we can continue working to develop all aspects of culture.

The school of Art Instructors is already functioning, and the comrades that work there are satisfied with the progress of that group of future instructors, but in addition we have already begun to construct the National Academy of Art, separate from the National Academy of Manual Arts. Certainly, Cuba is going to have the most beautiful Academy of Art in the world. Why? Because that Academy is going to be located in one of the most beautiful residential districts of the world, where the most luxury-loving bourgeoisie of Cuba used to live, in the best district of the most ostentatious and most luxury-loving and most uncultured bourgeoisie who now belong to the past. None of those houses lacked a bar; their inhabitants, except for certain exceptions, did not concern themselves with cultural problems. They lived in an incredibly luxurious manner, and it is worthwhile to take a trip there to see how they used to live; but they didn't know that one day an extraordinary Academy of Art would be built there, and that students were going to live in their homes, the homes of millionaires. They will not live cloistered lives, they will live in a homelike atmosphere, and they will attend classes in the Academy; the Academy is going to be located in the middle of the Country Club district, and will be designed by a group of architects and artists. They have already begun, and they are committed to finishing by the month of December. We already have 300,000 feet of mahogany. The schools of music, dance, ballet, theater, and plastic arts will be in the middle of a golf course, in a dreamlike setting. This is where the Academy of Art will be located, with 60 houses surrounding it, with a Social Center at one side, with dining-rooms, lounges, swimming pools, and also a building for visitors where the foreign teachers who are coming to aid us can live. This Academy will have a capacity of up to three thousand youngsters, that is, three thousand scholarship students. We expect it to start functioning next year.

And the National Academy of Manual Arts, located on another golf course, with similar buildings, with students living in similar houses, will soon begin to function also. These will be Academies of a specifically national type. That is not to say that they are the only schools, not that at all, but they will be attended by scholarship students, the young people who show the greatest capacity, costing their families absolutely nothing — adolescents and children who are going to have ideal conditions for developing. Anybody would want to be a child now, to enter one of those Academies. Don't you think so? We spoke here of painters who used to live on coffee only. Just imagine how different conditions will be now, and we will see if the creative spirit does not find the ideal conditions for developing. Instruction, housing, food, general culture... There will be children who will begin to study in those schools from the age of eight up, and they will receive, together with their artistic training, a general education... Won't they be able to develop their talents and their personalities fully there...?

These are more than ideas or dreams; they are realities of the Revolution. The Instructors that are being trained, the National Schools that are being prepared, the schools for lovers of the arts that are also being founded, they are realities. This is what the Revolution means... this is why the Revolution is important for culture. How could we do this without a Revolution? Let's suppose that we are afraid that "our creative spirit is going to wither, crushed by the despotic hands of the Stalinist Revolution"... Gentlemen, wouldn't it be better to think about the future? Are we going to think about our flowers withering when we are sowing flowers all over? When we are forging those creative spirits of the future? And who would not exchange the present, who would not exchange even his own present existence for that future? Who would not exchange what he has now, who would not sacrifice what he has now for that future? And what person who has artistic sensibility does not also have the spirit of the fighter who dies in battle, knowing that he is dying, that he is ceasing to exist physically, in order to enrich with his blood the triumph of his fellow beings, of his

people? Think about the soldier who dies fighting; he sacrifices everything he has; he sacrifices his life, his family. Why? So that we can do all these things. And what person with human sensibility, artistic sensibility, does not think that to do that it must be worthwhile to make the sacrifice? But the Revolution is not demanding sacrifices from creative geniuses; on the contrary, it says: put that creative spirit at the service of the Revolution, without fear that your work will be impaired. But if some day you think that your personal work may be impaired, say: it is well worthwhile if I am contributing to the great work before all of us.

We ask the artist to develop his creative force to the fullest, we want to make conditions ideal for the creative genius of the artist and intellectual, because if we are creating for the future, how can we not want the best for the present artists and intellectuals? We are asking for maximum development on behalf of culture, and, to be very precise, on behalf of the Revolution, because the Revolution means just that, more culture and more art.

We ask the intellectuals and artists to do their share in the work that, after all, is the work of this generation. The coming generation will be better than ours, but we will be the ones who have made that better generation possible. We will have shaped that future generation. We, the men of this generation, whether young or old, beardless or bearded, with an abundant head of hair, or no hair, or with white hair. This is the work of all of us. We are going to wage a battle against ignorance. We are going to unleash a merciless war against ignorance and we are going to test our arms.

Is there anyone who doesn't want to collaborate? What greater punishment is there than to deprive oneself of satisfaction in what others are doing? We spoke of the fact that we were privileged. We learned to read and write in a school, went to high school, to a university, to acquire at least the rudiments of education, enough to enable us to do something. And can we not call ourselves privileged to be living in the midst of a Revolution? Didn't we read about revolutions with great interest? Who didn't avidly read the stories of the French Revolution, of the Russian Revolution? Who

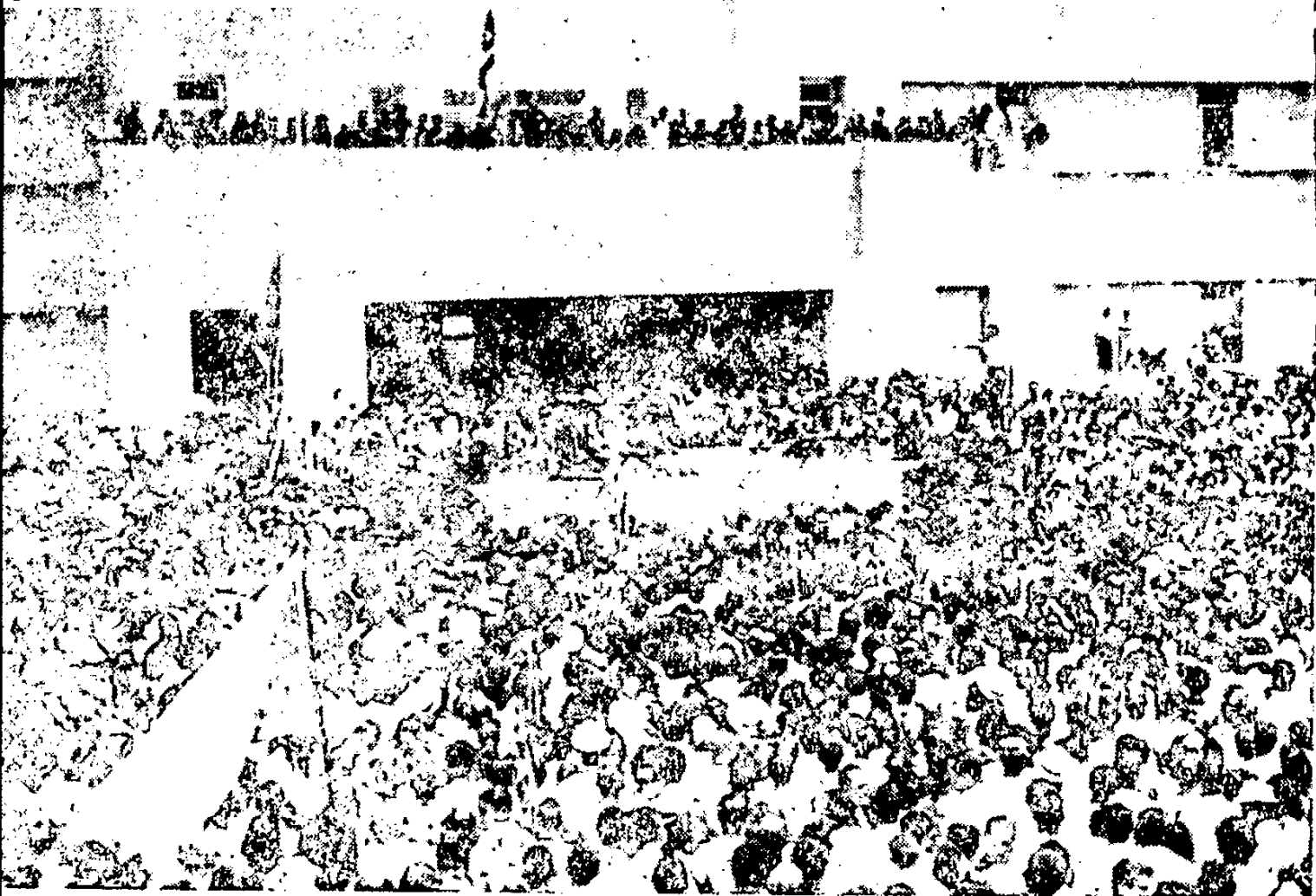
never dreamed of having been a witness of those revolutions personally? Something happened to me, for example, when I read about the Cuban War of Independence. I was sorry that I hadn't been born in that period and that I hadn't been a fighter for independence and that I hadn't lived at that epic time. All of us have read the chronicles of our War of Independence with deep-felt emotion, and we envied the intellectuals and artists and fighters and leaders of that time. However, to us has fallen the privilege of living now and being witnesses to a Revolution, to a Revolution whose force is now developing beyond the bounds of our country, whose political and moral influence is making imperialism on this continent tremble and totter. And this has made the Cuban Revolution the most important event of this century for Latin America, the most important event since the wars of independence of the nineteenth century; in truth, the redemption of man is new, for what were those wars of independence but the replacement of colonial domination by the domination of exploiting classes in all those countries?

And it has fallen to us to live in the time of a great historical event. It can be said that it is the second great historical event that has occurred in the last three centuries in Latin America. And we Cubans are its creators, knowing that the more we work the more the Revolution will be an unquenchable flame, the more it will be called upon to play a transcendent role in history. And you writers and artists have had the privilege of witnessing this Revolution in person; and a Revolution is such an important event in human history that it is well worthwhile to live in the time of one if only to be its witness.

That too is a privilege. Therefore those who are not capable of understanding these things, those who let themselves be tricked, let themselves be confused, those who let themselves become perplexed by lies, are the ones who renounce the Revolution. What can we say of those who have renounced it? How can we think of them but with sorrow? They abandon this country, which is in full revolutionary effervescence, to crawl into the den of the imperia-

list monster, where no expression of the spirit can have life. They have abandoned the Revolution to go there. They have preferred to be fugitives and desertors from their native land rather than remain here even if only as spectators.

And you have the opportunity to be more than spectators, to be creators in the Revolution, to write about it, to express yourselves on it. And the generations to come, what will they ask of you? You may produce magnificent artistic works from the technical point of view, but if you told the generation to come, a man of a hundred years hence, that a writer, an intellectual, lived in the era of the Revolution and did not express the Revolution, and was not a part of the Revolution, it would be difficult for him to understand it when in the years to come there will be so many who want to paint the Revolution, to write about the Revolution, to express themselves on the Revolution, compiling data and information in order to know what it was like, what happened, how we used to live... We recently had the experience of meeting an old woman, 108 years old, who had just learned to read and write, and we proposed to her that she write a book. She had been a slave, and we wanted to know what the world looked like to her as a slave, what her first impressions were, of her masters, of her fellow slaves. I believe that this old woman can write something more interesting than any of us could about that era. In one year someone can learn to read and write, and write a book as well, at 108 years of age! Things like these are fruits of the Revolution! Who can write about what the slave endured better than she, and who can write about the present better than you? And how many people who have not lived through this will begin to write in the future, at a distance, selecting material from other writings? On the other hand, let us not hasten to judge our work, since we will have more than enough judges. What we have to fear is not an imaginary authoritarian and stern judge of culture. Fear other judges far more severe, fear the judges of posterity, fear the generations to come, who will be, when all is said and done, the ones to say the last word!



ARMY BARRACKS CONVERTED INTO SCHOOLS



words by

*Nicolás
Guillén*



NICOLÁS GUILLÉN

National poet. Internationally known. Since youth, his poems have fought on behalf of the exploited. President of the Writers and Artists Union.

Comrades:

Like the blow of an ax, the dramatic night of Saint Sylvester, 1958, divided the history of Cuba into two parts, one with all the elements of Spanish colonialism and Yankee imperialist penetration, and the other with the elements that would initiate a new era, the era of true freedom.

The first era had lasted ever since Spain took over the island at the end of the fifteenth century, seizing it by force from its native inhabitants; the second began in the middle of the twentieth century, when Fidel Castro's *barbudos* came down from the Sierra Maestra and defeated Batista's tyranny, thus inaugurating the greatest revolution of America and one of the most significant ones of the contemporary world.

Once again, an old Cuban problem arose, one for which no solution had been found by the best inclined patriots: national independence. The Cubans had struggled for independence for more than half a century with greatly different protagonists in the two main periods involved. This, of course, should not be taken in a military sense, but in terms of classes.

When Carlos Manuel de Céspedes defied the Spanish crown (represented in Cuba by General Larsundi) from his ranch "La Demajagua" in 1868, he did so in the name of a wealthy class: big landholders, slave owners, sugar cane planters, cattle raisers, coffee planters, who had seen two attempts at peaceful solution fail in their struggle against Spain—the movement for reform and the movement for annexation.

Had Madrid granted the reforms demanded by that progressive aristocracy—fiscal, administrative, and political reforms—the Yara outburst would have been delayed. Had the government of the United States consented to the annexation of Cuba to that nation, so ardently desired by El Lugareño and fought by Saco, we would all now be speaking English or, at any rate, as has happened in other places, a sort of jargon in which elements of both languages, the native and the acquired, would be mixed, without the spirit of either.

In the middle of it all—the reform and the annexationist movements—there was the African slave trade. The slave trade put a stop to the liberating endeavors of the reformers, through a rebellion similar to that of Bouckman and his comrades in Haiti, and sent the annexationists in search of a strong state to protect the infamous trade in the face of England's abolitionist policy. Marx had said: "People who keep others in slavery cannot fight for their own freedom."

The Cuban slave owners therefore first had to adopt a revolutionary measure, the abolition of slavery, in order to follow the only course left open by Spanish intransigence—that of armed rebellion. But that struggle came to an end, the victim of Cubans and Spa-

niards alike —of the latter, because they finally imposed their military power, which had been contained by the patriots for the last ten years, and of the former, because their egotism, intransigence, lack of discipline, the pride of some, undermined the resistance of all. The patricians prevailed over the patriots. The family traditions, caste rivalries, base ambitions, that darken the soul of many so-called leading people, clashed within the Army of Liberation during this initial era.

Fifteen years later, Martí would say:

“The Spaniard did not defeat us because of his courage, but because of our pettiness, only because of our pettiness . . .”

The second war against Spain, seventeen years after the first had ended, had as its main protagonists, not the wealthy liberals of '68, headed by Céspedes, but the people and the petty bourgeoisie, stirred by the brilliant words and actions of José Martí. During the period of uneasy peace that followed the first encounter, secessionist ideas spread throughout the country, under the protection of the freedom of the press won from the Spanish government; many of the most important problems of those days came to the level of public awareness or, at least, curiosity; favorable conditions for culture developed, although with regard to the economically less developed classes, this was of no avail. And the new class to which we have referred, the middle class, aided greatly by popular elements, took the place of the great landholders who had planned the rebellion of 1868 and who, after the Zanjón Pact, abandoned the leadership they had assumed during the first half of the nineteenth century or took their place in the compromise autonomy movement.

There is no secret about what happened in the second war of Cuban independence. If in 1868 the insurgents were defeated by their own sins rather than by the Spanish military forces, in 1895 the people's uprising, already victorious against colonialist troops, had to yield ground before a new force, feared and foretold by

Martí—Yankee imperialism. The Government of the United States had no desire to help us when it intervened in the war between Cuba and Spain. On the contrary, that intervention gave a vigorous shake to the tree from which the fruit that Adams had desired since 1820 hung, so that it would fall into the basket prepared by McKinley in 1898: that fruit was no other than the island of Cuba.

The Treaty of Paris (at whose signing the insurgent government was not represented) in effect turned the former Spanish colony into a Yankee protectorate.

Wood, the proconsul sent by the Washington government, emphatically declared at the opening session of our First Constitutional Assembly in 1901 that approval of the Charter of the new Republic would not suffice, but that it was necessary to establish the nature of future relations between old Uncle Sam and his newborn nephew.

Did those barefoot, hungry, broken Cubans, exhausted by lack of food and the diseases of the brush, did those racially mixed people by any chance think that they would be left free, without bail or guarantees? Did those ragged Cubans think that the blowing up of the Maine and the landing of Roosevelt's mercenaries, and the millions of dollars that the campaign had cost, would not have to be paid for? Cuba was a prey too eagerly sought to be allowed to govern itself without the guardianship of those who, having been unable to steal it outright, were ready to exploit it for their own benefit and —who knows!— take it over at the first favorable opportunity.

That is how the Platt Amendment came into being.

That is how the gradual and dramatic deformation of our national culture began, under the impact of Yankee interventionist policies, starting in 1902; that is how we began to be slaves again the very instant when many naive individuals thought we had begun to be free.

The Cuban bourgeoisie, which began its growth in the Republic, submitted to imperialism even more than its predecessors, the landholders, had to Spain after the Zanjón Pact. It became the ally, nay, the accomplice of the new exploiting force.

That bourgeoisie began by selling the land. "Immediately after the Island had been occupied by the United States, in 1899," says Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring in a recent book, "United States capitalists and businessmen began purchasing the land and establishing industries and businesses. Cuban owners, impoverished by war and with no faith in the future of a truly free, independent, and sovereign Cuba, began selling their farms, ranches, sugar mills, forests, etc. And since many Americans thought then that their government would not fully adhere to its pledges in the Joint Resolution and grant independence to the Cubans, they flooded the Island with businessmen in a wave of immigration that Leland H. Jenks, in 'Our Cuban Colony,' compared with the great mass movements to the West in his own country.

The draft of a law sponsored by Don Manuel Sanguily, who was then a Senator, preventing Cuban land from passing to the hands of the Yankees by sale, failed completely, for it never got out of the Senate Code Commission; it was buried there.

With a voice reminiscent of Martí, this patriot warned his class that "at the speed at which this true economic revolution is developing" —these are his own words— "to be followed by a social and political revolution, that is, by the transformation of our national wealth through the transfer of its ownership, and, therefore, the inevitable influence of foreign powers in our daily life, in the attrition, discrediting, and adulteration of our language and, finally, of our legislation and the ultimate destiny of the Cuban nation, very soon problems or very formidable complications will arise, rendering all complaints useless, and our impotence to solve them as demanded by the preservation of our nationhood, will be no less true and painful..."

On a political level, that bourgeoisie depended on Washington. Great heroes of the war against Spain, having lost the incentive that drove them into the brush, grew lazy in the sinecures given them by the Republic, and even surrendered our country to the foreigners, as was the case with Estrada Palma. Notes from successive Ambassadors, aimed at stifling all attempts at independence on the part of the Executive Power (what little executive power the Platt Amendment permitted, and what little independence the executive power permitted itself), were feared and avoided at the price of infamous concessions. "The Americans will come here!" whispered the servile fear of politicians when the people raised their voice, still muffled, or their clenched fists, still impotent.

However, the people did not remain inactive, although at first glance it might seem so. The first anti-Yankee outbreaks took place at the very birth of the Republic, over the Platt Amendment. The People's Party was founded by Diego Vicente Tejera in 1900. As Joaquín Ordoqui says, "Without being a socialist party, it grouped the progressive elements of the labor movement of the time, among them, those who upheld Marxist ideas." Strikes broke out, such as the Apprentices Strike in 1901 and the so-called "Currency" Strike in 1906, during the second American intervention. Negroes and Mulattoes gathered in great numbers under the liberating banner raised by Estenoz in 1912 and demanded equality with the whites and fulfillment of the Constitution of the Republic. President Gómez crushed them ruthlessly. The Veterans and Patriots Movement was aimed against the immoral sinecurism of President Zayas, who did not shed the blood of his countrymen, as Machado and Batista would do later on, and as Menocal had done, but drowned them in a wave of mud. In 1925 occurred the most important of all political events that had so far taken place in the Republic: the founding of the Communist Party.

As was the case in other countries, not only of America but of the world, Cuban communists studied the national problem under a new light, the light of class struggle. Tearing down the curtain

that covered our political and economic reality, they showed the people the true nature of our relations with the United States, from its intervention in the Spanish-Cuban War up to its treacherous economic penetration, with the approval of the Cuban bourgeoisie. From then on, the milestone by which to measure the revolutionary ideals of a political leader would be his position towards United States imperialism.

On the cultural level, the bourgeoisie did not defend its own artistic, scientific, and literary achievements. The works of the most important writers of the nineteenth century have remained for many years on the dusty shelves of old libraries. They have been reprinted only sporadically, incompletely, at the initiative of more or less public institutions or more or less private enterprises. It was never done in accordance with a methodical plan to make the best works known to the great masses. History texts were falsified, carefully obscuring the profound causes of the national tragedy, which arose from the stifling penetration of United States imperialism in the political and economic life of Cuba. Discriminatory practices were introduced in education, with the establishment of segregated schools for whites and Negroes; insurmountable obstacles were raised for preventing Negroes from having access to university professorships or even to less important teaching positions, where the presence of a man or woman of dark skin presupposed a truly heroic effort and a professional capacity slightly less than Aristotelian.

That bourgeoisie, in short, made Miami its tourist Mecca and New York its social obsession. English expressions and slang were substituted for Spanish words in current usage: "OK" for "correcto," "thank you" for "gracias," etc. Children were educated in Yankee schools, in the United States or Cuba, for there was hardly an important city in the island without an American school. Many officers of the National Army were educated at West Point, and even our children's stories and games originated in texts in which the heroes were born in the United States and had a mentality based on brute force and racial superiority: Buffalo Bill, Nick Carter, Superman...

Meanwhile, sugar mixed with blood flowed through the cane fields, and the people learned their lesson of rebellion in the daily struggle of the trade union, the sugar mill, the factory, in the struggle against two of the most brutal tyrannies of our history, those of Machado and Batista. The inevitable outcome of these conditions was the revolution which, headed by Fidel Castro, established a new order in Cuba, eradicated long-established privileges, drove out imperialism, placed political and economic power in the hands of the people, and opened the doors of socialism in a country where true physical slavery had existed only eighty years before, where men had owned other men.

Now then, in the course of this process, what has the attitude of the Cuban intellectual been? What must his attitude be in the new circumstances created by the Revolution? To answer this question we must go back in history to the very origin of our nation, to the beginning of the past century.

During the lengthy period of colonial domination, the Cuban people lived in precarious cultural conditions. In 1800 the Baron of Humboldt arrived in Havana, in his first trip to our Island. The impression that the Cuban capital made upon the illustrious traveler was not, indeed, the best. "During my stay in Spanish America," he would write later, "few cities presented a filthier appearance than Havana, due to lack of proper cleanliness. People had to walk in mud up to their knees and the enormous number of carriages and 'volantas,' which are the characteristic vehicles of Havana, the carts loaded with sugar cane, and the drivers who shoved past the passers-by, made the condition of those who had to walk annoying and humiliating..."

As for education for the people, there were less than forty schools in the capital, which already had 130,000 inhabitants and could very well be considered one of the most populous cities in America. In these schools, almost all of which were directed by Negro or Mulatto women with a scanty educational background themselves, the student were taught to read —badly— and to write

—badly— as well as the four arithmetical operations. Only one newspaper, the *Journal*, was published, and the printing shops of the City were always idle...

In regard to public instruction, it must be said that the backwardness exhibited by the majority of the Cuban people right after the end of the 18th century was not to change substantially for a long time. Saco, in his "Memoirs of Vagrancy," said that education had been abandoned to such a degree in all the towns and hamlets of Cuba that a great part of the inhabitants did not even know the alphabet.

Saco wrote this at the end of the third decade of the nineteenth century.

At the end of the century, another great Cuban writer, Merchan, stated his opinion of primary education in our country: "There is only one place for primary education in the island: Havana. Schools for boys, six; schools for little children, none, with the exception of the one founded by Mr. Cornelio Coppinger in the Royal Welfare and Maternity Home of Havana. And there are at least twenty-four cities with a population of over ten thousand or which are provincial capitals, which should have high schools and kindergartens, and have them neither for boys or for girls. Municipal evening schools are simply non-existent."

Speaking about the anarchy which prevailed in the designation of books for primary education, Merchan recalls an event as laughable as it was dramatic. Among the authorized texts, according to this author, there was a small geography book (I quote his words) written by one of our civilizing authors from abroad, who pleased to write the following: "Guanabajoa, Seaport located south of Havana." And, of course, there were many who called the author's attention, with great hilarity, to the fact that first, Guanabacoa is not called Guanabajoa, second, that it is not a seaport, and third, that it is not located south of Havana. "Outside of these insignificant trifles, the definition is wonderful," Merchan concludes.

As we have seen, however, it was only the common people who were kept in cultural backwardness.

For the Cuban wealthy class found better means to educate itself, now in centers of the greatest academic importance, such as the University and Seminary of Saint Charles (in which Varela taught), now in private schools "for whites only," such as "El Salvador," directed by Luz y Caballero, "San Aanacleto" of Mendive, where Martí studied, and others.

This explains how, at the time when Humboldt arrived in Havana, in the midst of circumstances already explained, there were individuals like Dr. Romy, who brought vaccination to Cuba, like Father Caballero, a wise lecturer in philosophy, like the poets Zequeira and Rubalcava, like the economist Arango y Parreño, who had the means to develop themselves, intellectually, within their country or abroad.

These were also the times (as Sergio Aguirre has noted) when the Cuban nationality began defining itself, due to the meeting in the Cuban colonial population of the elements that Stalin believed vital for the integration of a nation.

This is true to the extent that, together with these figures and perhaps even above them, there was an outstanding man who would herald the struggles for Cuban independence, the first man who spoke seriously of separating the colony from the mother country, and, above all, of the need to do it through a revolution. I am referring to Father Varela.

As a writer, as an intellectual, Varela devoted himself to the independence of Cuba. During the first moments of his immersion in the public life of the Colony, he felt attracted by Autonomy, but only for a short time. He soon understood that the only way out was a revolution, and the only goal absolute independence.

Varela did not preach reform, much less annexation. He openly demanded the total separation of the island from the distant peninsula to which it was bound, and as he himself said, he wanted it

"an island in politics as it is in nature." Who but this man of sickly appearance and fragile build spoke so strongly in those days to the current Spanish monarch, the hateful Fernando VII? These are his words: "Whether Fernando wants it or not, no matter what his vassals in the Island of Cuba may think, revolution in that country is inevitable. The difference will be only in the time and the manner; I would like the matter to be considered from this point of view."

Speaking about Spain as he would about the United States were he alive now, Varela foretold the final collapse of its empire due to the supidity of its colonial policy. "In wishing the revolution to come before anticipated," he writes, "I am only trying to prevent its evils. If left to time, it will be brought about by the Spanish government itself, which, ignoring its own interests and feeding on fictions bordering on the ridiculous, will not take any steps to preserve what little it has left..."

Varela did not limit himself to pure intellectualism, although it would have been easy for him to withdraw from the turmoil of the political life of the country, under the protection of his position in the Seminary of St. Charles, where he taught philosophy for ten years. Rather, he mixed in politics; he was elected Deputy to the Cortes (Spanish Legislature) and there raised his forceful voice on behalf of his country. Adverse political events forced him to leave Madrid. At last he settled in the United States, never to return to his native land.

But if he did not return in person, his ideas did. The newspaper "El Habanero" came. Six issues of the seven that he probably published from 1824 to 1825 have reached our days. His was a rather erudite newspaper, very much of the times, and his pen produced the material that enriched the publication, articles on scientific, political, and literary subjects —above all, political, devoted to the independence of Cuba.

Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, to whom our revolutionary Cuba owes so much affection and tribute for his firm anti-imperialist stand, has said of Varela that "he taught the intellectuals of his age and of the ages to come that they should not isolate themselves irresponsibly in an ivory tower, but that precisely because they were intellectuals they had to concern themselves to a higher degree with national problems in order to enlighten and guide their peoples..."

In this sense, Varela anticipates and foreshadows Martí. And Martí and Varela (the latter at the beginning of the century and the former at the end) express the birth and continuity of Cuban intellectual revolutionary unrest in response to foreign oppression. This unrest is a thread that begins in the wise priest, passes through Céspedes, continues through our Apostle, and reaches Fidel Castro, who is waging a victorious war against imperialism, and in whose thought and action revolutionary impetus —of a truly popular character— reaches the most far-reaching consequences, not the liberal ones derived from the French Revolution, of a hundred years ago, but those arising from the great October Revolution at the threshold of the twentieth century.

As for Martí, it would not be correct to look in his works for a Marxist concept of class struggle: he did not have it, nor could he have it due to his ideological formation. But it is quite certain that in his time and environment, without a conscious and developed mass of workers, Martí was a progressive revolutionary, who tried to solve problems whose mere definition gave proof of an extraordinary political vision: distribution of the land in a feudal country; racial equality a few years after the abolition of slavery; denouncement of the reactionary clergy; predominance of the people in the face of aristocratic influence; unmasking of United States imperialism when it was but a shadow on the political horizon of the Island; armed revolution and national liberation.

Today imperialism is in crisis. Latin America is awakening and Cuba is showing the way, not with a magisterial spirit, but as a consequence of the historical role conferred on her by virtue of na-

tional circumstances. But it was Martí —revived in Fidel Castro—who pointed out the direction that Cuba should take. His are these words, written in 1886:

"From independence to the present, America has never been faced by an issue that required more prudence, that compelled greater alertness, that demanded a clearer and more minute examination, than this invitation by the United States. The United States, powerful and determined to extend its sway over America, is asking the less powerful American nations, tied to European countries by free and profitable trade, to form a league against Europe and to stop trading with the rest of the world. Spanish America freed itself from the tyranny of Spain; and now, after weighing the background of the invitation, it is urgent to say, because it is the truth, that the time has come for Spanish America to declare its second independence. And why go as allies in the flower of youth," he continues later, "into the war the United States is preparing to wage with the rest of the world? Why does it have to fight its battles with Europe on the republics of America and test its colonizing system on free nations?"

Nearly eighty years have gone by since an intellectual, a writer-poet-politician, uttered these words. Today Cuba is not a Spanish colony ruled from Madrid, nor a United States protectorate ruled from Washington. But it is waging its second war of independence, foretold by our Apostle, against imperialism, also foretold by him. We are in this struggle, as intellectuals like Varela, Céspedes, and Martí, were in the struggle against Spain in the days of our first war of independence.

It seems evident, however, that the complex of economic-social relations on which Cuban society prior to the Revolution was based has undergone a profound change. The agrarian and urban reforms, as well as the nationalization of our economy, are incontrovertible

and accomplished facts. They will be followed by the industrialization of our country, which has already started, so that we may be able to help ourselves to be not only free, but also independent.

Now then, all this, which favors the Cuban people as no other people in America have ever been favored, is causing harm to someone, for there is no action without a reaction. Whom? It is useless to delay the answer: it is damaging Yankee imperialism, which, when the last stronghold of the Spanish colonial empire collapsed in our continent, replaced that decadent power with its ever-growing military, economic, and political might; that is, as long as the Socialist power had not yet arisen.

In another sense, that change to which we have referred also affects the Cuban intellectual process, it affects the intellectuals in their life and in their works. In a good or in a bad sense? It would indeed be strange for the revolution to promote the betterment of the people of Cuba and single out the intellectuals as the only ones to be mistreated.

I believe that the change is extremely positive for the intellectual worker. Before him is opening a world that is different from the one in which he has lived until now, and not only different, but vastly superior, for his work will cease to be a source of profit for the capitalist who in other systems lives, in the most subtle and diverse fashions, off the intelligence of others.

I should add immediately that intellectuals do not constitute a social class; they have no independent, individual interests in a system of production. Their activity is controlled by the interests of the class they serve. Under capitalism these interests are those of the exploiting class, which obtains intellectual work at a price lower than its use value. But this is not all. It should be stated that at times, without the intellectual being aware of it, or (as in the more conscious cases) forced to thwart his innermost desires, he becomes the propagator of the ideology of capitalism, the very system which enslaves him.

Under Socialism the intellectual serves the people, and the people serve him, respecting and exalting his human nature, securing him a livelihood and means of creation, surrounding him, in short, with the affection of the masses, without impairing his personal freedom and creative genius.

Now, does this mean that capitalist culture should be swept away and mechanically replaced by a full-blown socialist culture, without considering the past? I am extremely sorry to differ from those who have an affirmative answer to this question.

It is a grave error to deny the important part played by the bourgeoisie in the birth and development of socialist culture. Ambitious as our forces may be, despite everything the Revolution may be able to do —and it can do much— it would be impossible to endow Cuba with a proletarian culture, as if by prescription, without taking into consideration the former culture in its most developed and progressive forms.

During the days subsequent to the October Revolution, Lenin stopped those who, in a great hurry and with no knowledge of dialectics, endeavored to build a socialist culture upon nothing. What could be done with Pushkin's poetry, they would ask themselves, or with Rafael's portraits? The answer they gave themselves was the following: they had to create an art and literature for the workers, with no ties whatsoever with the old bourgeois forms. Myakowsky —whose literary career began under the influence of Italian futurism— headed the iconoclasts.

No culture is born spontaneously, said Lenin. Without bourgeois techniques, without the art and the science of the defeated class, it is impossible to create a culture that will serve the victorious class. The Leninist theory is quite simple: to gather the culture of capitalism and build socialism with it. That is to say, a given class cannot create its own culture if it does not take and assimilate what mankind has produced until the birth of that class. "Proletarian culture," Lenin also said, "does not arise from unknown sources.

it does not issue from the brains of those who call themselves specialists in proletarian culture. It would be absurd to believe so. Proletarian culture must evolve from the natural development of knowledge won by mankind under the feudal and bourgeois yokes."

This is the theory of cultural heritage.

For us Cubans, that heritage is composed of everything done in Cuba with regard to culture from "El Son de la Ma Teodora" and "The Mirror of Patience" to the music of Roldán and Caturla, including Martí and "El Cucalambé."

However, our richest cultural period was undoubtedly in the past century when, under the protection of productive leisure made possible by slavery, the enlightened bourgeoisie was able to devote itself to its cultural inclinations. To parody a famous phrase of Engels, perhaps it could be stated that without African slavery, there could not have been bourgeois culture during the 19th century.

Now, we have the right to ask ourselves if that bourgeoisie, which appeared and reached its peak in the course of a century, created its own culture, distinct to such a degree that we could speak of it as we speak of the French or English culture, for instance.

At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, we can in fact point out some literary and scientific figures of a certain importance. However, just as at the mouth of rivers flowing into the sea, at that moment in Cuban culture there was an area of two currents: the incipient nationhood and the colony it opposed.

Let us take the case that can best illustrate our ideas, that of the poets Rubalcava and Zequeira. Both of them tried to express their own accent, not from within, but from without. Some—not many—of their less presumptuous and lengthy poems are expressive of Cuban feelings in an objective and external manner, pleasant reactions to the gifts of Cuban nature, such as the poems Zequeira dedicated to the pineapple and those Rubalcava dedicated to tobacco and Cuban fruits.

However, although in both cases the subject is Cuban, the "approach" is not. Both poets belonged to Spanish neo-classicism and were therefore permeated by the spirit of the 18th century and the Spain of Phillip V. That was a century which, as has been stated, was not the century of fantasy, but of thought, not of the poets, but of the philosophers. The poetry of both (above all Zequeira) is inflexible, pompous, grandiloquent, rhetorical; they inherited it from Quintana and Gallego, both Moratines, without coming near the vigor that these at times achieved.

Should we care to look for causes, it seems to us that this lack of "Cubanism" in our culture was due, in the first place, to its extreme youth, which made it open to the great dominating influences of the century, above all the French. But it is only natural that this should happen in Cuba, especially if we happen to know that a country with one of the greatest cultural traditions, Spain herself, owes Italy more than one formal instrument that is today regarded as her own, and was influenced by France in ways that she never denied in that very neo-classic era.

The most important figures of Cuban culture drew on Spanish sources and absorbed those influences from them, not to say that they were men of travel and studies and made fruitful trips through many European countries.

We should also take into account at this point the atmosphere of slavery blanketing the Island during most of the 19th century. It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that a man like Don Fernando Ortiz, breaking through the walls of prejudice and suspicion, studied the Negro contribution to the formation of our national culture, as another brilliant ethnologist, Profesor Nina Rodríguez, had done in Bahía. That would have been impossible under slavery, for only a few could then understand the role of the African slave as a living element of Cuban society, an element as alive and important as the Spanish white.

Among those who, even in the remote year of 1836, understood this quite well, was the Colombian (although raised in Cuba) writer, Don Félix Tanco. In a letter sent that year to his friend Domingo del Monte, he says the following: "And what is your opinion of *Bug-Jargal*? I wish that one of us had written that novel. Think it over well. The Negroes of the Island of Cuba are our poetry, and we must not think otherwise; and not only the Negroes, but the Negroes and the whites all mixed together to create the portraits, the scenes... thus may our Victor Hugo be born, and let us know once and for all what we are, painted with the truth of poetry, inasmuch as we know through figures and philosophical analysis the sad wretchedness in which we live..."

As you know, when Columbus arrived in Cuba and trod on Cuban soil, he founds an aboriginal population. The aborigines rapidly disappeared upon contact with the Spaniard: their small numbers, their cultural backwardness (Cuban Indians lived in the Stone Age), their work in the gold mines and sluices, in addition to collective suicide and mass murder, wiped them out. Negroes were sent in their place. When? At the beginning of the conquest of Cuba, according to Saco, between 1512 and 1514, from the nearby Island of Haiti, where they were taken in great numbers, as to no other place in the continent up to that time. In 1517, at the request of Father de las Casas, the Crown sent considerable shiploads of Negroes to the West Indies. From that date until 1880, when slavery in Cuba was abolished (at least formally), one million darkskinned men and women were brought across the Atlantic to our coasts.

The contact of Negroes and whites (masters and slaves) was not unproductive. By living together for more than three centuries, they influenced each other reciprocally in a vast process of cultural exchange. We therefore wound up with a profound racial crossing, not always noticeable in the skin but nevertheless coloring our spirit.

Following that course, that of fruitful contact between what came from Spain and what was forced to come from Africa, we could have found then and can find now a national expression of culture wherever the mixture is shaped with careful and artistic hands.

Culture in Cuba during the 19th century (and I would also include the century before, although it is even more Spanish) should be collated, studied, weighed, and criticized by us, the writers and artists who are now building a culture that corresponds to our revolutionary reality and our historic development. There should be no problem of continuity between the latter and the former. The former is our cultural heritage, created by a cultured class, economically wealthy, generally of liberal ideas, which produced great figures, outstanding for their knowledge and character. A socialist revolution such as ours cannot afford to neglect to study and examine them.

As to the rest, this revolution is a hotbed of subjects, of creative possibilities for Cuban writers and artists. But if we wish those possibilities to become action and that hotbed a forest of luxuriant trees laden with fruit, it is vital that we keep in permanent contact with the people. To our mind, such contact should not be limited to a purely intellectual proximity, which at times consists only of passing curiosity. It should also exhibit the characteristics of a true, physical, side-by-side existence. It is not enough, for example, to think about the countryside or to acquire a considerable amount of information about the countryside: the living countryside is at our disposal, a fertile soil in which to seek and find true inspiration. To paint from first-hand, to describe what a People's Farm or a cooperative is while living there, to go to villages lost in the heart of the mountains, or to the depths of the forests, to live on the farms, to touch with our hands the sweating skin of miners, to travel about the Island we own, kissing her like a newly-won woman —everything, in short, which constitutes life in these dramatic days, and which belongs to our struggle for liberty, must be experienced by us and expressed in print, stone, music, color.

Sometimes I ask myself whether we —all of us, the Cuban writers and artists— are thoroughly aware of the enormous importance of the times in which it has been our lot to live, of the greatness of these times. These are new times for Cuba and they are new times for the entire continent. This is the story of a small nation, apparently helpless, certified as dead, or at least dying, by many illustrious doctors, the story of a people enslaved by a brutal and insatiable enemy, who pounce upon that enemy and defeat him, and then turn against the accomplices of that enemy, who have betrayed their country, their family, their blood and their bones, and defeat them too, a people who not only accomplish this, which, indeed, is quite a lot, but then begin to build their own house in the land of their ancestors, to live there in peace and freedom.

Doesn't this story deserve to be told? What nation in our America has been offered so much greatness by destiny? Doesn't that task—the task of relating historical events that seem more like marvelous tales— doesn't that task deserve to figure in the center of our life? We believe it does. But at the same time, how can we relate this story? It seems to us that the time has come to speak of our profession and the duties that it imposes upon us when we wish to practice it (and we should always desire this) with unwavering dignity.

In our opinion, the revolutionary content of a literary work does not insure its beauty or even its efficiency as a message for the people. At the same time, directing a work to the people does not insure its beauty, if the author has placed into that characteristic a confidence that should have been derived in part from adequate technique, that is, from the necessary knowledge to express beauty.

Lope de Vega's lines seem criminal:

"The people are foolish, but they pay,

—so measure for measure,

We'll give them foolishness to give them
pleasure."

In the first place, the people are not foolish. If they were, Lope himself would not have looked for his inspiration in popular sources; in the second place, how can the author of "Fuenteovejuna" treat himself so disrespectfully, without his condition as an artist, and even his condition as a human being, becoming unworthy in our eyes? Fortunately, the great work of this genius saves him from such a downfall, work that will inspire Spanish letters forever, and which owes its present importance to the popular spirit that permeates it.

Lenin, in his days, criticized those ideas by saying that the workers' taste is similar to that of the intellectuals, but that some of the latter, the bad ones, thought that the workers should be given only what is old and trite. Engels said, expressing his opinion on a literary work (in his well known letter to Miss Hatknes, 1888): "I am far from censuring you for not having written a socialist novel, a tendentious novel, as we Germans say, in which the political and social ideas of the author are glorified. This is not what I think. The more the political opinions of the author are kept hidden, the better it will be for the work of art..."

Engels also said:

"I am not in any way opposed to tendentious poetry as such. The father of tragedy, Aeschylus, and the father of comedy, Aristophanes, were obviously tendentious poets, as were Dante and Cervantes, and the best thing about 'The Intrigue of Love' by Schiller is that it is the first tendentious German political novel. The modern Russians and Norwegians, who have given us excellent novels, are all tendentious writers. But I believe that tendentiousness should originate in action and circumstances, without its being explicitly formulated, and the writer is by no means forced to give the reader the future historical solution of the social conflicts that he describes..."

Chu-yang, speaking on the same subject, has said the following: "We should not, however, interpret the subordination of literature to politics in the narrow sense that writers must deal with

each political directive, possibly having only a temporary meaning or only limited aspects, or write simply about each directive. To proceed in this way would be a mistake and would harm creative activities, for such creations cannot be welcomed by the people, who someday may say: "We prefer to read newspaper editorials."

Let us say, in addition, that this sort of extremism is present not only in literature, but in the plastic arts. It is seen in those aggressive paintings and sculptures in which men with unpleasant faces appear with their fists raised, their lips tightly drawn, their eyes fiery, presumably due to their anger, even when the eyes are made of stone.

No, it is not true that the people must be given "foolishness to give them pleasure." We must give the people the best of our spirit, our technique, our intelligence, of our work, in short, for they understand and know what we are giving them, and they are grateful for it.

It is not my desire for my words to be taken as spoken *ex cathedra*. There is nothing further from my thoughts or my possibilities. On the contrary, they have been born of timidity, or to express myself more accurately, of fear, for I believe that we are all running that risk, we have all committed those errors, and the important thing is to be forewarned, not to yield to the temptation of the easy way out, where many true creators have been hopelessly lost.

Once we have reached this point, someone will surely ask whether the only possibility for writers and artists in this Revolution is to commit themselves to it. Isn't there room for pure art? Isn't there any room for free creativity? Of course there is, Fidel Castro, in his "Words to the Intellectuals," said "...the Revolution defends freedom: the Revolution has brought a great deal of freedom, and if someone is concerned with the possibility that the Revolution will stifle the creative spirit, that concern is ill-founded and has no justification whatsoever..." But Fidel also said that "...the state of mind of all revolutionary artists and writers, or of the artists and writers

who understand and find the revolution justifiable, must be: what dangers threaten the Revolution, and what can we do to help the Revolution?"

I believe the answer is simple: to give, not only the spirit, but the flesh —body and soul, like lovers. Yes, we want and desire freedom. It is an essential possession. Man has always struggled for it and always will. But it is not an absolute possession, for nothing absolute exists. Why is it that freedom is demanded? To attack the Revolution? We say: No! Freedom to justify poverty, glorify human (or inhuman) exploitation and praise imperialism? We again say: No! Freedom for reactionaries and fascists to conspire against our people and accumulate millions of pesos with which to pay mercenary invaders and devalue national currency? Freedom for that? Well, we Cuban artists and writers again shout: No! We do not want freedom to be used by our own executioners, to turn us once more into slaves.

At a meeting of Cuban intellectuals a short time ago, I heard a fellow writer demand very seriously the freedom to write love poems, here, in Cuba. I was surprised, because I was not aware that any such prohibition existed. In the Soviet Union, in China, in the people's democracies, the poets write love poems and madrigals to the moon, flowers, and pretty women, or those who seem pretty to them, to the poets. The newspapers and magazines of those countries welcome such poems, if their literary quality deserves it. Can anybody oppose this?

However, the story goes that during the last war a Soviet poet sent Stalin a book of love poems, which he had written during those dramatic days, a book of intimate, egotistic, recondite passion, and unbridled delivery. Artillery thundered on all fronts: the Nazis tightened their ring of blood and fire on Stalingrad; thousands upon thousands of men and women fell to rise no more. They asked Stalin what he thought of the work, and he answered: "Very interesting, and even very good. But only two books should have been printed: one for her and another one for him."

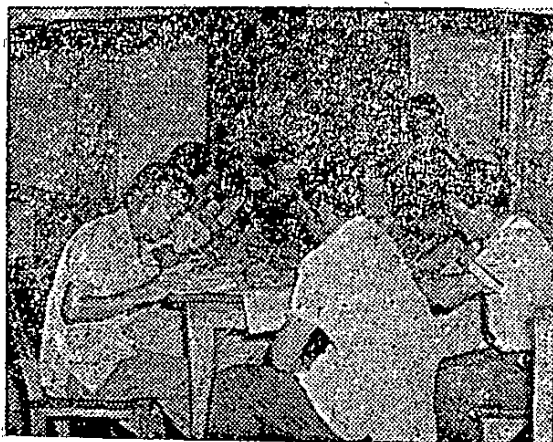
Comrades:

We have met in glorious and difficult days. The Cuban Revolution is consolidating its achievements and marching forward in pursuit of new victories. The world has fixed its eyes upon this dot in the Caribbean, hardly noticeable on the map, but dramatically inserted into American history, into world history.

Our Revolution is a shining example of the fact that our enemies are not invincible—as they were considered by the submissive, shameless politicians of the past—but also that, stricken in the heart, they are still strong enough to attack us in their wrath.

As Fidel has said, the Cuban Revolution still has many battles to fight. But now we are aided in those battles against a dying world by the new world, the world of true democracy, the socialist world, the world of peace.

In three years of headlong revolutionary development, Cuba can admire what the people have done, and can confidently undertake the tasks that lie ahead. One of the hardest battles, but also one of the finest, will be the one that we, the Cuban writers and artists, are going to win, starting from today, by creating a socialist, humanist culture that will give the ordinary man of the street everything that was denied him by the Colony in the 19th century and monopolized by an exclusive sector of the ruling class of that society. We will create a culture that will give us a distinctive character and spirit, that will teach us to find in the roots deeply buried in our land the vigor and tenderness of the branches that rise high into the clouds, that will remake our national image, broken by the impact of a blind force, the imperialist force, based on hatred among men. We will create a culture, in short, that will liberate and exalt us and distribute both bread and roses without shame or fear.



**"WE WILL CREATE
A CULTURE THAT
WILL LIBERATE
AND EXALT US"**

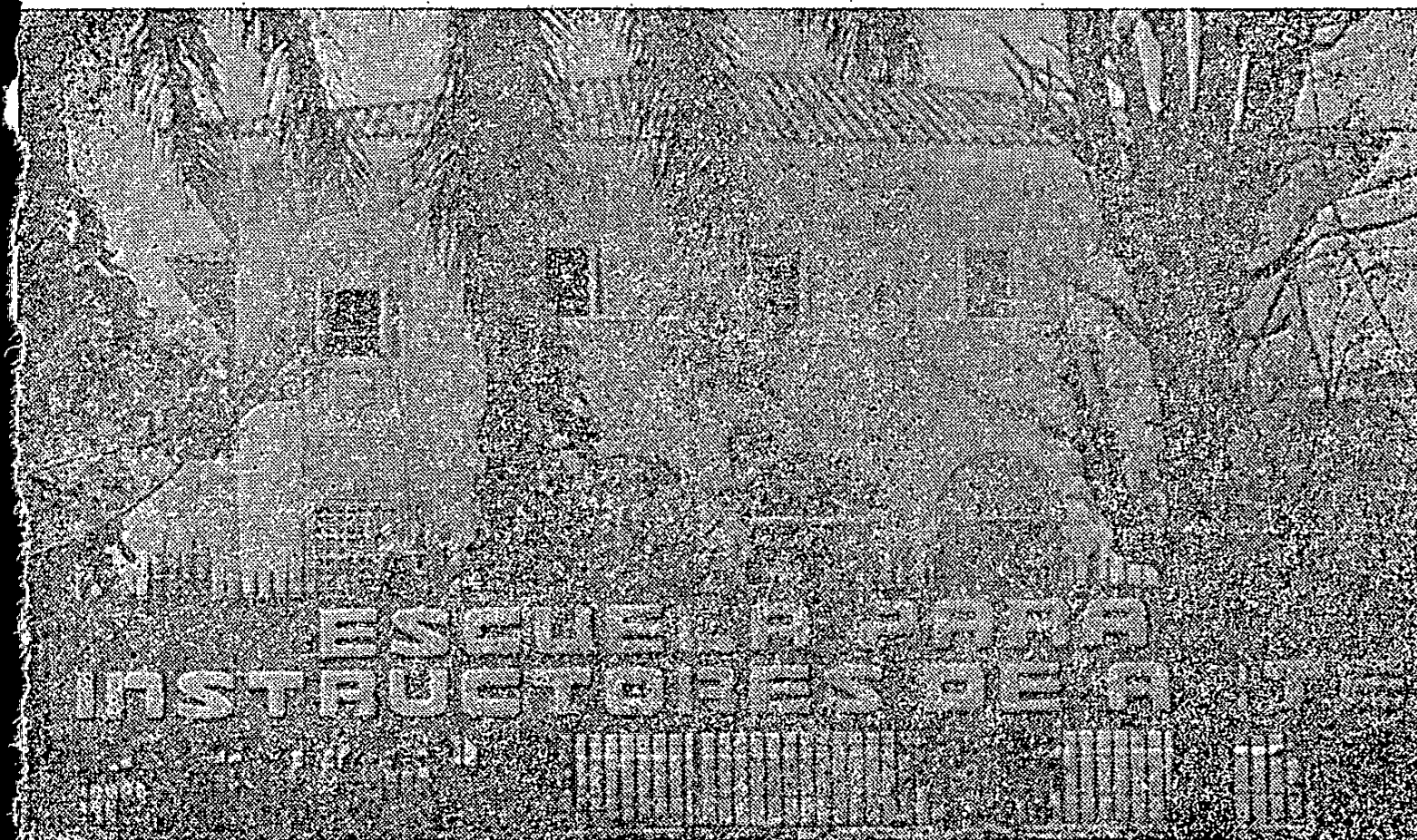


**THESE ARE THE YOUNGSTERS WHO TAUGHT
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CUBANS TO READ
AND WRITE**



Scholarship students who
will soon be teaching the
dramatic arts on People's
Farms and Cooperatives.

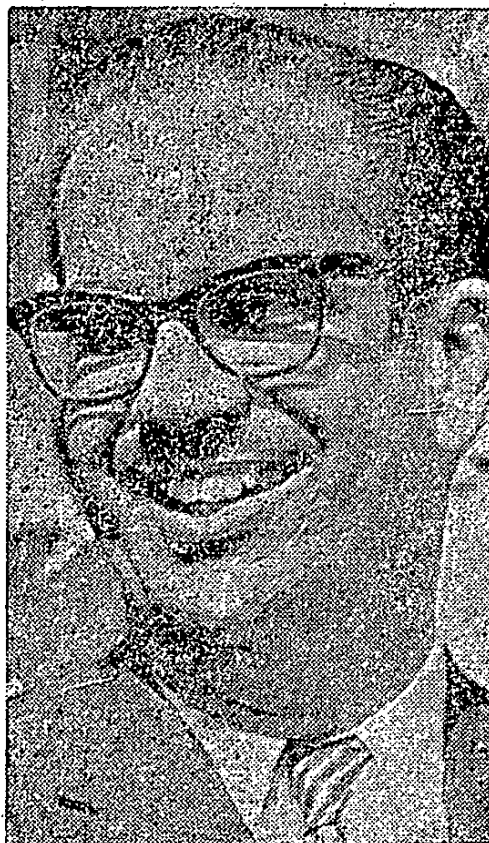
A school for future art
instructors.



**"We are going to create
the conditions that permit
all talent to develop."**

speech by
president

Dorticós



DR. OSVALDO DORTICÓS
TORRADO

President of the Republic.
Member of the National Com-
mittee of ORI (Integrated Rev-
olutionary Organizations).

Chairmen of the Congress of Writers and Artists;
Fellow Ministers;
Honored Members of the Diplomatic Corps;
Honored Guests from Abroad;
Cuban Writers and Artists:

I bring the enthusiastic and cordial greetings of the Revolutio-
nary Government of Cuba to this opening session, to this Congress,
and to the Cuban artists and writers, who are participating with a
high sense of duty in this meeting, with all the significance it entails
for the future development of Cuban culture and for the engagement

of the men of arts and letters meeting here today in the revolutionary process of our country. And they are meeting under the best of auspices, the deeply-felt memory of Federico García Lorca.

This memory colors in advance all the work of this illustrious meeting, defines the direction of this assembly, and determines its fruitful course.

Only a few minutes ago, Nicolás Guillén reminded us of the significance of the death of García Lorca. "He was seen," says Machado's poem, "walking among rifles." But it is good for us to remember that those were the rifles of international reaction and fascism, the rifles that murder peoples and the culture of mankind itself, the rifles against which rise up not only combative, militant men, fighters, militiamen, but also the genuine intellectuals in all parts of the world.

The death of García Lorca, and the undying memory of his death, inspires this Congress, and is in itself a mandate for this Congress.

García Lorca has died, but he lives in our memory, he lives in the memory of the people, for the cause of the peoples, and culture, did not die with García Lorca.

García Lorca has died, but his lyric, human message lives on! And the call of that message, reiterated and permanent, has on more than one occasion alerted the conscience of writers and artists in Spain, in America, and in all the nations of the globe. It is under these auspices that you are beginning the tasks of this Congress.

And the first thing that occurs to me to ask is whether this has been a timely meeting. A Revolution that succeeds in producing fundamental changes in the economic structure of a country, immediately, and in a very direct manner, also produces fundamental changes in the political and legal superstructure of the nation.

It would be fitting, therefore, to ask ourselves immediately, in order to answer the first question, whether the Cuban Revolution has yet generated a literature and an art of its own, or whether, on

the contrary, we are still in the first moments of awareness, of defining future attitudes. We can answer immediately that the Cuban Revolution has not yet been able to generate a literature and an art that can be called the products of this Revolution.

However, that does not prevent us from answering the first question affirmatively. I believe that this meeting has been timely and not premature. This meeting of writers and artists is clearly not the opportunity to examine the experiences of the emerging cultural life of the triumphant Revolution; it is not, because literature and art, as we stated a few moments ago, have not yet received the impact of the revolutionary process of Cuba in all its profundity. This is a meeting that has other objectives, objectives which are no less important, no less honorable, and no less demanding.

This meeting is a magnificent opportunity for the writers and artists of Cuba, in response to the Revolution and to all it demands from men of arts and letters, to adopt positions, define future attitudes, and outline the individual tasks of each and the collective tasks of all; it is the opportunity for the writers and artists, before their people, with their people as the supreme judge, to define their duties towards the historic time in which they happen to live.

The Revolution demands effort from all the men of the people, but it demands effort from each according to his occupation. There are duties common to all, but there are also specific responsibilities. And neither the former nor the latter can be evaded with honesty!

The artists and writers of today have duties as men of the people, but they also have duties as men of their profession. And it is on these duties and responsibilities that we intend to speak tonight.

Sooner or later, a revolution completely transforms the cultural life of a country. It does so with the thoroughness typical of all changes in a revolutionary society. Does this mean, perhaps, that a revolution creates an entirely new culture? Certainly not. A revolution, committed to transforming the cultural life of a country, must begin by purifying and evaluating in a historical sense every bit

of the nation's cultural heritage. A revolution that fights the worst cultural traditions of a country should, above all, keep and safeguard those cultural traditions which are sound, although this may seem a paradox to some.

We are, therefore, extremely pleased to find that one of the topics on the agenda of this Congress, one which is apt to move us, is precisely this one, because in approaching the fundamental subjects to be discussed we should at least try not to classify as a controversial matter what we have just mentioned. How are we to do it? What is the best method? All of this should be discussed.

But we believe it should be our common conviction that in order to foster a genuine revolutionary culture and a rich literary and artistic life in our country, it is necessary first of all to safeguard our best traditions. By seeing to it, with fine revolutionary zeal, that everyone is judged with due regard to his time in history, we should strive to save for this and for future generations the splendid achievements of men of genius who, unfortunately, could not share with us this brilliant period of our history, but who in their time did the right thing as men, as Cubans and as intellectuals. After all, the Revolution itself is a direct historical consequence of our past.

For this reason we should ask ourselves whether it is a betrayal of those who yesterday paved the path we are now following, not even to remember those who, for example, shaped the beginnings of our nationality?

Our culture will certainly find its own way —in contact with every expression of world culture, and availing yourselves of its traditions, its works and achievements, you will reconquer our cultural past and give it a new strength.

That is your task, and it must be done with extreme care, because it is unavoidable for a revolutionary process at times to generate apparently radical attitudes which do not actually correspond to the genuine revolutionary mind.

It is also important to discuss ways and means of furthering what has already been started in our country with exemplary enthusiasm: the rediscovery, purification and fostering of our folk wealth. This is extremely important, as it is one of the ways to enrich our literary and artistic life, and to give it a popular flavor. Thus, drawing from the sources of our cultural past, from the inexhaustible well of our people's creativeness and genius, Cuban writers and artists may undertake a highly significant and fruitful work.

But all that is to be done will fail in its usefulness to the Revolution and to the people's interests, if writers and artists do not clearly adopt an attitude of unrestricted, direct and deeply affectionate union with the people.

Our job is not to discuss the best technical and formal ways to achieve that deep, enduring communication with the people; that is something for each of you to deal with, and we sincerely believe that, in this connection, all shades are fair, the important thing being that the essential remains. But there is something we believe it our duty to stress: in going about your work with this duty in mind, the literary and artistic quality of every work must be carefully and scrupulously assessed.

Artists and writers must go to the people—not descending, but ascending to them. The people are to be honored, and to do so as professionals you must go to them with the highest literary and artistic excellence. In the people is to be found the source of future works, the daily inspiration and the supreme inspiration. And to the people the literary or artistic products must finally return—a return of the treasures which the people give to their artists every day.

But it is also important to remember that communication with the people, while demanding the highest degree of literary and artistic dignity, also requires the will to put an end to intellectual aloofness. We know perfectly well how our past cultural life—a frustrated republic's intellectual misery, an intelligentsia harassed by everyday imperialist influence—pushed many of our best writers and

artists towards forms of evasion and aloofness. Some of them are now on the side of Revolution, but notwithstanding what has been said here, the Revolution should not ignore the others.

What we have stated does not mean, then, that we must thunder against abstract art, but that we should try to prevent abstract trends from dominating future literature and art. This does not mean, however, that abstract artists should not share in the great task now underway.

The effort is for the future, and everyone must do his or her share. There is more than one way of bringing about this communication of writers and artists with the people. But, whatever the forms, whatever the schools to be followed, whatever the techniques and traditions, the important question to be asked is: for whom does the artist create? Nevertheless, those who until now have been unable to create for the people should not fail us at this time.

We should all remember the anguished words uttered by Antonio Machado—"If I could only write for the people!"—and remember, too, that to write for the people is not to step down the ladder of the artistic hierarchy. Machado also said that to write for the people was to do like Cervantes in Spain, or Shakespeare in England, or Tolstoy in Russia. These immortals of art and literature were men who, unconsciously at times, and at other times with full knowledge, wrote for the people.

In a country in Revolution, writers have the privilege of writing consciously for the people. In our case writers have also the exceptional privilege of writing in a country where there will be no illiterates in the near future. That will be a great opportunity for every Cuban artist and writer!

Works of art and books will be available for the penetrating curiosity, intuitive at times, later cultivated, of a whole people!

What greater glory and reward for you Cuban writers than to know that if your work shows literary quality and national substance, you will be read not only by an intellectual minority, but by the large majority!

If, soon, your public will be the entire Cuban people, how can any writer or artist ignore the people? As we said before, the Revolution demands exertion from all, and we know that our writers and artists will give their all, at all times, under any circumstances. It is the only honorable way to be an artist or a writer!

Intellectual honesty, in our time, includes the merely literary or artistic. One is intellectually honest—and there is no place here for fanciful differentiations—to the extent that one is honest as a human being.

Your work is not to be done without the concern and help of the Cuban Revolutionary Government. First of all, we must state that, while you have your duties towards the Revolution and the people, the Revolutionary Government knows what its duties are towards all of you.

It must, first of all, formulate a cultural policy. We cannot escape this duty, it is something we must do.

And when we announce the Revolutionary Government's decision to formulate and implement a cultural policy, let no one be surprised or frightened. Let me make it clear that the Revolutionary Government, in formulating its cultural policy, will not in the least restrain or impair the practice of freedom of form in literature or the arts; that, when speaking about formulating a cultural policy, we do so realizing that it is a governmental function which must be developed, not away from you, but with you yourselves as protagonists, collaborators and executors of that policy.

Speaking in the name of the Revolutionary Government, I might now review what has been done for cultural development. But I wish to state in all humility that what has been done—the work of the Department of Culture, the national Cultural Council, the Film Institute, the exhibitions, contests, dance schools, schools of music and theatre—all this is but an illustration of what is to come.

Something of extraordinary importance is being carried out, not by the Revolutionary Government, but by the entire people, something which is not only a contribution to the purely educational effort, but the highest, the most admirable contribution to culture, namely the gigantic drive against illiteracy. But I must stress that there is a lot for us to do in the future. In the first years of a Socialist Revolution, most of the attention is absorbed by emergencies and the fundamental priorities of the work of a Revolutionary Government.

Evidently, it would be a luxury to discuss literature and art, had we not first discussed production in our country; indeed, the material and human resources of the people's revolutionary strength had first of all to be applied to the needs connected with the economic changes and the construction of socialism. But if there is something the Cuban Revolution may boast about, thanks to historical circumstances, it is that this Revolution has enjoyed the possibility and the exceptional privilege of being able to turn its attention, from the very beginnings, not only to a Land Reform giving land to the peasants, the nationalization of industries, the creation of the material foundation of our future society, but also to other tasks, just as vital and important, but which, in other revolutions, had to be postponed.

That is why we can hold this Congress today. It is a timely event and it shows that our Revolution is unusually privileged in the sense that other peoples had to pay a higher toll to carry out their revolutions.

This privilege entails a high responsibility on your part. After all, gentlemen, it is a duty in which you may find personal happiness and joy, for in doing it you are affirming your vocation, you are shaping your personal destinies, you are finding an answer to your highest aspirations as writers and artists.

Once this assembly is over, what is ahead of you? To say it briefly: the people.

To the people, then, you must go with your best literary and artistic weapons. But before the tremendous task that lies ahead of you, we feel that artistic and literary quality and the desire to com-

municate with the people are not enough. Deep understanding is required. It is not enough to speak the same language. To actually understand his people, a man has to be aware of the whole social and economic process under way in his country. May I ask, then, with due respect, that all Cuban writers and artists do their best to improve as much as possible their cultural and artistic standards.

It is not enough to possess literary erudition and high artistic quality to achieve complete communication with the people. In order to better serve the people and the Revolution, many who are not intellectuals or writers, many who did not even go to high school, now earnestly strive to acquire broad and deep comprehension of the revolutionary process, and to attain the highest political learning. That is why we disapprove of certain tendencies that often appear in artistic and literary circles where political culture is scorned.

Our writers and artists, if they wish to be considered men and women of culture, should not confine themselves to the creation of novels or poems, paintings or sculptures. They must attain political culture too, which is to say, they must achieve understanding of our socio-economic process.

Neither art nor literature can thrive or be fruitful if divorced from their time and society. They are products of society and I wonder how anyone can conceive of high literary or artistic quality, not only in form but in essence, if writers and artists do not understand the society in which they live.

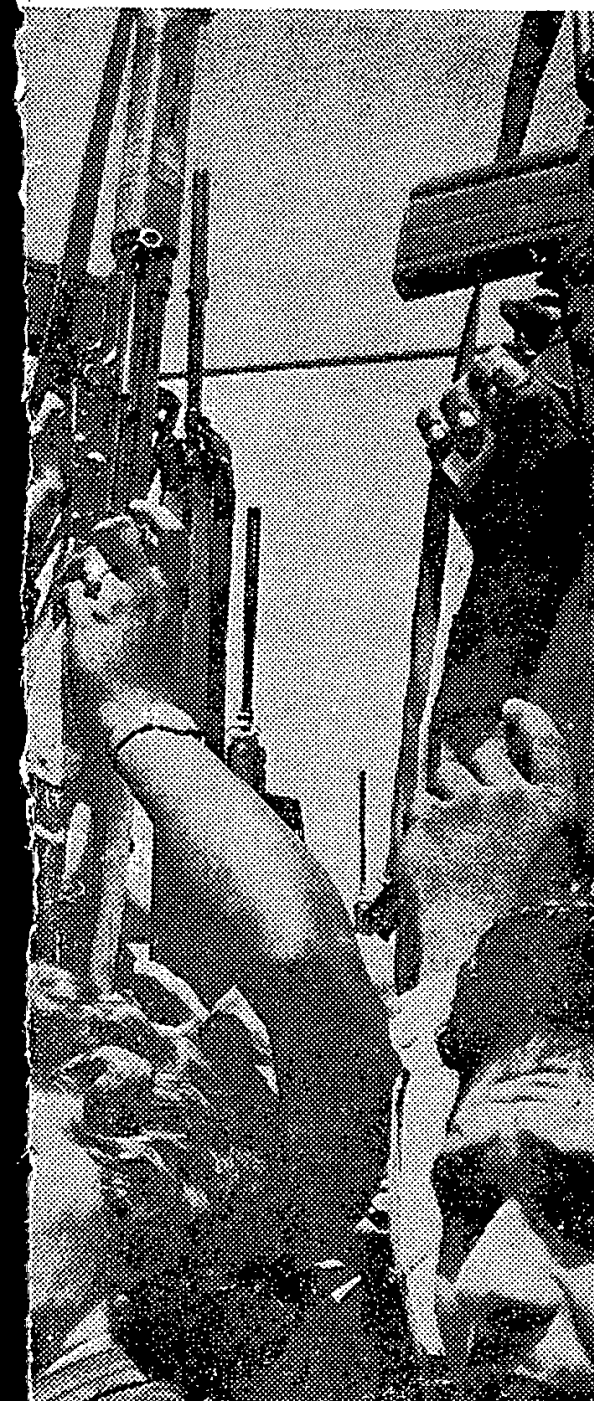
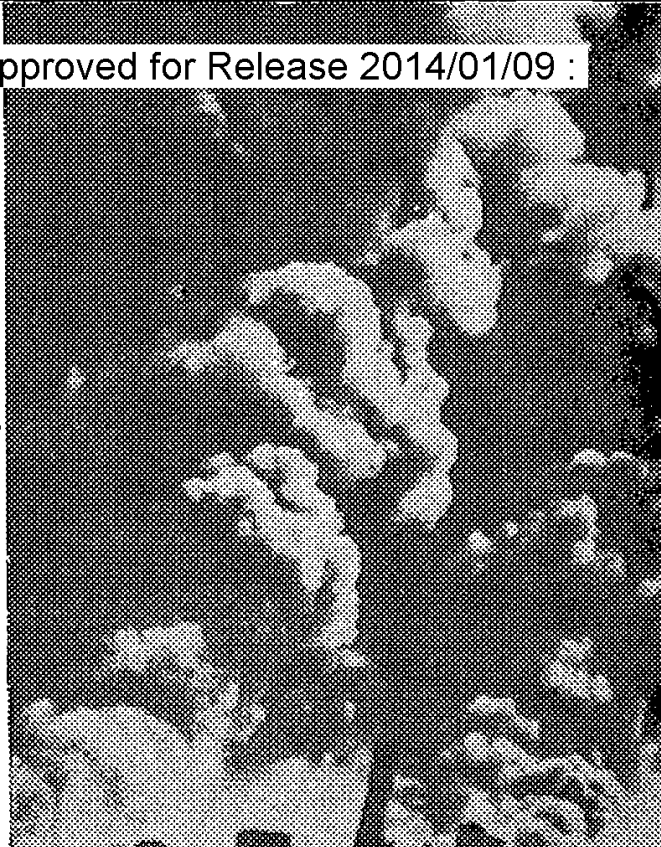
So far we have only dealt with your duties, but I do not wish to finish without stating that we, who in the name of the people today demand that you comply with those duties, are also jubilantly certain that you will succeed.

Let us work together, comrade writers and artists, let us work together, you and we of the Revolutionary Government, in the midst of our people, for the Revolution, for our country and for culture!

Thank you.

EMP. CONS. DE ARTES GRAFICAS
(MIN. DE INDUSTRIAS)
UNIDAD 1217
FOMENTO 114, LUYANO, HABANA

**THE FAR AIRPORT
IS BOMBED**



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EDITORIAL EN MARCHA

APARTADO POSTAL 6386.

LA HABANA, CUBA.

1962

AÑO DE LA PLANIFICACION

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY DOCTOR FIDEL CASTRO AT
THE FUNERAL OF THE VICTIMS OF THE IMPERIALIST
AIR RAID OF APRIL 15, 1961.**

Comrades of the Rebel Army and of the National Militia;
Cubans all:

For the second time we assemble in this place. The first time we did so on the occasion of the act of sabotage that took away the lives of nearly one hundred workers and soldiers.

On that occasion, the crime that had been committed against our people, had to be explained through a series of inferences; on that occasion, it was necessary to prove that such a sabotage could not have been prepared in our territory, that is, it could not have been prepared in our territory because of the careful watchfulness over the unloading of that vessel. It was impossible to presume that the cause had been accidental, since the kind of military supplies that were being unloaded could not explode by mere dropping.

It was necessary to review the historical antecedents that pointed to those who were guilty of that criminal action; it was necessary to recall all the interest that the United States Government had shown, and all the steps it had taken to prevent those arms which you were raising a while ago from reaching our hands.

Since the start of the Revolutionary Government, the first effort made by the foes of the Revolution was to prevent our people from arming itself. The first steps taken by our enemies tended to keep our people unarmed, but when the political pressures that had been exerted to prevent us from acquiring those arms failed, and when the first steps of diplomatic nature also failed, they resorted to sabotage, they resorted to the use of violent procedures in order to prevent those arms from reaching our hands, in order to make it difficult for us to acquire those arms and, finally, they asked the government that was supplying those arms, to stop selling them to our country.

That clawing blow took a heavy toll of lives among our workers and soldiers and when, at the time, we asserted that we were entitled to believe that those who were interested in preventing us from getting those arms, were the ones who

were guilty of that sabotage, you must remember how the Government of the United States protested, how the Government of the United States affirmed that it was an unfair imputation, and how they asserted, in the face of the whole world, that they had no connection whatsoever with the blowing up of the steamer "La Coubre".

However, all of us, the whole of our people, were deeply convinced that those who stood behind the preparation of that barbarous and criminal action, were the secret agents of the United States Government.

However, things were only starting; nonetheless, many people in this country and even abroad, could hardly believe that the United States Government would go so far; it was hard to believe that the leaders of a country could be capable of resorting to such means. Possibly some people were apt to think that the Revolutionary Government showed an excessive distrust, that the Cubans were far too suspicious and distrustful.

It was then still possible for some people to be skeptical with regard to those assertions; for we had not yet acquired the harsh experience we have gathered during those two and a half years; we still did not know our enemies well enough; we still did not know their ways; we still knew nothing about the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States Government; there had not yet arisen an opportunity for us to get acquainted, day after day, with their criminal actions against our people and against our Revolution.

There was more to it than just an isolated fact; our country had already endured a series of aggressions, it had already endured a series of incursions by pirate planes, which one day would drop printed sheets, another day would burn our cane fields, and still another day would try to drop a bomb on one of our sugar mills.

It was on that occasion, when precisely because of the explosion of the bomb meant to be dropped, the pirate plane blew up and fell in shattered pieces on our soil; it was only then that the United States Government could not deny, as it had been doing throughout, that those planes had been taking off from its coast. The United States Government, faced with the dead bodies of those pilots, with the intact documents that were seized, and with the identification numbers of the airplane that had fallen on our soil, could not deny the facts, and then decided to apologize and to give us an explanation.

Of course, it was difficult for everybody to understand how a single airplane or several airplanes could enter and leave the territory of the United States, without being observed by the authorities of that country, without being recorded on the modern equipment that is available, over there, for the detection of airplanes. But on that occasion, they apologized and gave us explanations.

Nonetheless, the flights did not stop. During a very long time, the air incursions continued and, on one occasion, caused very heavy casualties in our country. However, none of those actions could be characterized as a military attack; those incursions were but mere acts of harassment by pirate planes which one day burned our cane fields, another day tried to drop grenades or printed sheets and, in short, victimized our country by constant harassment, thus intending to cause economic damage, but in a way that could never be taken for a military attack.

The blowing up of "La Coubre" had been an act of sabotage prepared by the Yankee Central Intelligence Agency. The attacks by pirate planes were sporadic. Never had an operation been carried out with all the characteristics of a well defined military operation.

Recently, a few weeks ago, a pirate seacraft entered the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, fired on the there located oil refinery and, at the same time, caused casualties among the soldiers and sailors who were stationed at the bay's entrance.

Everybody knew that an operation of this sort, with craft of that nature, could not have been carried out but with vessels made available by the Americans and supplied by them at some place in the Caribbean area.

That event placed our country in a special situation; it compelled us to live, in the middle of the twentieth century, in a way similar to that in with the towns and villages of this continent had to live during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the cities and towns were forced to live during the era of pirates and buccaneers; it placed our country in a special situation under which our factories, our citizens, our towns, had to live exposed to planes intent on burning our cane fields, to planes trying to bomb our sugar factories, to planes making victims among our population or to vessels entering our harbors to shell targets impudently; something that had never happened, something that never happened on this continent in the course of this century.

This continent did happen to be acquainted with naval guns; this continent did have experience about shelled cities, and this continent did happen to be familiar with the landing of foreign troops. It knew about it in Mexico, and it knew about it in Santo Domingo, and it knew about it in Cuba, for all these peoples were acquainted with the U. S. Navy and with its guns and all these peoples were afforded the opportunity to know what the interventions of the U. S. Marines meant.

But what no people of this continent ever had opportunity to get acquainted with, was this sort of harassment by air and by sea, this sort of buccaneer operation by air and by sea; what no people on this continent ever had an opportunity to get acquainted with, —a continent that had witnessed interventions, a continent that had seen mercenary armies, organized by the United States— was this systematic action of the secret services of the United States Government, this systematic action of sabotage and destruction, originating in a powerful organization that has at its disposal all the economic resources and the most modern means for sabotage and destruction; what no people of this continent ever had to face, was the struggle against the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States Government, which persists, at any price, in compliance with instructions from its Government, in the obstruction of the pacific and brave progress of a nation, in systematically destroying the fruit that people reap from their labor, in systematically destroying the economic resources, the commercial establishments, the industry, and what is worse: the precious lives of the workers, of the peasants and all the honest and hard working citizens of this country.

No people of America had ever been familiar with that sort of struggle, nor with incursions by pirate planes, or incursions by pirate seacraft, or international sabotage organized by a powerful organization that has at its disposal, as I said, overwhelming economic resources and the required technicians.

Our country was perhaps the only country in the world whose towns and cities were subject to harassment by pirate airplanes, and whose harbors were being attacked by pirate vessels. As far as we know, there has never been, nor is there at present, on single instance of a country, not at war with any other country, not involved in a civil war, which has to put to with this sort of attack by pirate planes and seacraft, and, besides, the systematic campaign of destruction against Cuban

wealth and Cuban lives being carried out by that secret body of the United States Government.

But, notwithstanding all this, none of the previous actions had resembled the aggression of typically military character that took place yesterday. This time it was not the flight of a pirate plane, it was not the incursion of a pirate vessel; it was nothing less than a simultaneous attack against three different cities of our country at the same hour, in the early morning; it was an operation carried out according to all the rules that govern military operations. Three simultaneous attacks at dawn, at the same hour, on the city of Havana, on San Antonio de los Baños and on Santiago de Cuba, on three widely separated spots, one of which is especially distant from the other two, carried out by B-26 bombers, by dropping bombs of high destructive power, dropping rockets and machine-gunning three different spots of the Cuban territory. It certainly was an operation that had all the characteristics of a military operation performed according to the rules.

It was, furthermore, an attack by surprise; it was an attack similar to the sort of attacks with which the vandalic nazi and fascist governments used to assault other nations. The fascist governments used to assault other nations. The fascist governments of Europe simply ignored such a thing as a formal declaration of war. The armed assaults perpetrated by Hitler's hordes against the peoples of Europe were always of this type: attacks without warning, attacks without declaration of war, sly attacks, treacherous attacks, attacks by surprise. And thus were invaded by surprise: Poland, Belgium, Norway, France, Holland, Denmark, Yugoslavia and other European countries.

And when in the midst of that war, the imperialist government of Japan was ready to join the aggressors, there was no declaration of war and there was no warning. On a Sunday, if I remember well, on the 7th of December of 1941, at dawn, the Japanese naval and air forces attacked the naval base of Pearl Harbor by surprise and almost entirely destroyed the ships and airplanes of the U. S. Navy in the Pacific. Everybody remembers that date, everybody remembers the wave of indignation aroused among the people of the United States, everybody remembers the irritation generated in that country and the indignation created in the rest of the world by that attack perpetrated in a sly and unexpected way. The people of the United States mobilized to repel the aggression and the people of the United States do not want to forget the treacherous and

cowardly way in which their ships and airplanes were attacked at dawn, in the month of December 1941.

That event became a symbol of treason, that event has been recorded in the history of the United States as an event that stood for felony, meanness and cowardice. Pearl Harbor reminds the United States of treason; Pearl Harbor reminds the people of the United States of meanness, cowardice and felony; Pearl Harbor was an event that has been anathematized by the history and the public opinion of the United States as a despicable act, as a treacherous act and as a cowardly act.

Yesterday... and hereby we don't want to establish any comparison, because when the Japanese were fighting the Americans, there was a conflict between two capitalist countries, there was a conflict between two exploiting governments, there was a conflict between two governments that were competing, a conflict between two colonialist governments, there was a conflict between two governments that were competing for the control of the markets, raw material and economies of a considerable part of the world.

Thus the conflict was between two governments, though American imperialism was not, at the time, as aggressive as Japanese imperialism, because it was not an imperialism with the warlike characteristics of the Japanese imperialism; though, at the time, there were imperialist powers fighting each other, American imperialism was the least warlike and aggressive, by world standards, among those imperialisms. But as far as Latin America is concerned, it had always been an aggressive and warlike imperialism, the kind of warmongering imperialism of big powers against weak countries, the sort of cowardly warfaring of a big and powerful nation against small and unarmed nations. But by world standards, American imperialism was less aggressive and less warlike than German imperialism, than Italian imperialism, than Japanese imperialism. In our case, it is not a question of a struggle between two exploiting forces and it is not a matter of conflict between two imperialisms.

The attack on Pearl Harbor is condemnable because of the manner in which it was conducted, by surprise and in violation of the most elementary rules and traditions of relations between nations. However, in this case in which we are involved, there is a conflict between an imperialistic government and a revolutionary government, there is a conflict between a warmongering and aggressive imperialism and a social revolution that precisely destroys all forms of exploitation, not only the

exploitation of one people by another but also the exploitation of part of the people by another part of the people.

We differ from the United States in that the United States is a country that exploits other peoples, in that the United States is a country that has grabbed a great part of the natural resources of the world and, for the benefit of a caste of millionaires, makes thousands and thousands of workers toil all over the world. Our country does not exploit other peoples; we are not a country that has grabbed or strives to grab the natural resources of other nations; we are not a country that is trying to make the workers of other countries toil for our benefit.

We are the very opposite; a country that is struggling, in order that its workers should not have to toil for the caste of American millionaires (CHEERS); we are a country that is struggling to rescue its natural resources and that has succeeded in rescuing its natural resources from the hands of a caste of American millionaires.

We are not a country, by virtue of whose system a majority of the people, a majority of the workers, of the masses of the country composed by workers and peasants, is toiling for the benefit of a minority of exploiters; we are not a country, by virtue of whose system large masses of the population are discriminated against or simply ignored as is the case with the Negro masses of the United States; we are not a country, by virtue of whose system the lesser part of the population lives parasitically on the blood and sweat of the greater part of the population.

With our Revolution we are not only eradicating the exploitation of one nation by another nation, but also the exploitation of man by man! (CHEERS). Indeed!, we have declared at a historic General Assembly that the exploitation of man by man should be condemned (CHEERS); we have condemned the exploitation of man by man and we will eradicate the exploitation of man by man from our Fatherland! (CHEERS).

We differ from the United States in that, over there, the government of a privileged and powerful caste has established a system, by virtue of which that caste exploits people within the United States themselves, and also exploits people outside the United States.

The United States nowadays politically constitute a system for the exploitation of other nations by one nation and a system for the exploitation of man by man.

Therefore, the conflict between Japan and the United States, was a conflict between similar systems whereas the conflict between the United States and Cuba is a conflict of divergent principles, that is to say, 'a conflict between those that are void of any human principles and those who, like us, have taken upon themselves the defense of human principles! (CHEERS AND SHOUTS OF "WE WILL WIN")'.

What we mean is that if the attack on Pearl Harbor was indeed a crime, it was however a crime between imperialists, it was a crime between exploiters, whereby a government of exploiters attempted to annihilate another system of exploitation, whereby one imperialism attempted to annihilate another one.

Yesterday's crime is, however, the crime committed by imperialistic exploiters against a nation that wants to free itself of exploitation, against a nation that wants to establish justice. Here was a crime committed by the exploiters of man against those who want to abolish the exploitation of man (CHEERS AND SHOUTS OF "WE WILL WIN").

If the attack on Pearl Harbor was branded as a crime by the people of the United States, and as a treacherous and cowardly act, then our people have the right to brand yesterday's imperialistic attack as a twofold criminal act, a twofold sly, a twofold treacherous and a thousandfold cowardly act (CHEERS AND SHOUTS: "CUBA YES, YANKEES NO!"). And if the people of the United States considered that they had the right to judge the government that prepared and perpetrated the Pearl Harbor attack, branding it as a government of villains, our people has the right to brand the government that prepared the attack against our country as a thousandfold vile and treacherous! (CHEERS AND SHOUTS: "PIN PON, FUERA (OUT WITH IT) DOWN WITH CAIMANERA" (GUANTANAMO BASE)). If the people of the United States had the right to brand that unexpected attack as a cowardly one, that is to say, the attack by a powerful country against another powerful country, of a country with a big navy and air force against another country with a big navy and air force, then we have the right to consider as a thousand times more cowardly the attack by a country with a big navy and a big air force, against a country that has only a few vessels and airplanes! (CHEERS AND SHOUTS: "WE WILL WIN!")

Notwithstanding all this, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, they faced the historical responsibility for their behavior. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, they did not try to hide the fact that they were the ones who organized and

carried out that attack, and they faced the historical and moral consequences of their acts. However, when, as is how the case, the powerful and wealthy country prepares a cowardly aggression by surprise against a small country, a country that has no military resources to respond to the aggression, although it is ready to resist till the last drop of blood!... (CHEERS AND SHOUTS: "FATHERLAND OR DEATH").

There is not the slightest doubt that the imperialistic government of the United States behaves in this manner against us because we are not a powerful country; no doubt at all that they behave in this manner because they know that we cannot ripost, as they deserve, to the criminal and cowardly actions that they carry out against us (CHEERS); there is not any doubt that if we were a military powerful country, the imperialistic government of the United States would never dare to perpetrate such acts against us! (CHEERS AND SHOUTS: MURDERERS!").

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor they assumed the responsibility, but these "gentlemen" did not; these "gentlemen" prepare the attack, organize the attack, deliver the airplanes, deliver the bombs, train the mercenaries, pay the mercenaries and launch the attack without the nerve to face the historical and moral responsibility for their actions! (CHEERS AND SHOUTS: "THEY ARE COWARDS!, THEY ARE COWARDS!").

The imperialistic government of Japan took action but it did not try to hide its responsibility; in return, the President of the United States (SHOUTS "OUT WITH HIM") is like "the kitten of Mary Show", that "grabs the meat and hides the paw" (SHOUTS: "OUT WITH HIM"! "OUT WITH HIM"!).

President Kennedy as did "the kitten of Mary Show", "grabs the meat and hides the paw"! The policy of the United States government can be summed up in these words.

Nevertheless, how these events help us to understand!; how they serve the purpose of teaching us the realities of our world!; how these events help our people to educate itself! The lessons are expensive, the lessons are painful, the lessons are bloody, but how the peoples learn by these events!, how our own people is learning! How it is educating itself and growing up!

No wonder we are now familiar with so many things that other peoples don't know; no wonder we are one of the few

peoples in world history that has learned so much in so short a time.

And thus, yesterday's events will teach us a lesson, those painful events of yesterday will enlighten us, and they will show us, perhaps much more clearly than any other event that has occurred up to this day, what imperialism really means.

Maybe you have an idea of the meaning of imperialism; maybe you often asked yourselves, in the past, what imperialism was and what that word stood for.

Can it be that the imperialists really stand for so much evil? Can it not possibly be that there is much passion in all the accusations made against them? Can it be that all the things we have heard about American imperialism are based on prejudice? Can it be that all that is asserted about American imperialism is true? (SHOUTS OF: "YES"). Are the American imperialists as mean and wicked as some people believe? (SHOUTS OF: "YES") Or is all this an exaggeration? (SHOUTS OF: "NO") Or is it prejudice? (SHOUTS OF: "NO") Or is it the result of excessive passion? (SHOUTS OF: "NO").

Is it possible that the imperialists really did all the things they are blamed for? Could it be that all that has been said about their vandalic behavior in the international field and about their provocations, is true? Were they the ones who provoked the war in Korea? (SHOUTS OF: "YES").

How difficult it was to know what happened in the world when the only news that reached our country was the American news! How they must have cheated us and how many lies they must have told us! If anybody still has some doubt, if anyone in this country in good faith—and let me add that I don't refer to the wretched breed of worms, I refer to the men and women who are capable of honest thinking even if they dissent from us—; if anyone remains in some doubt, if anybody believes that the U.S. policy has still a trifle of honor left, if there is someone who believes that there remains an atom of decency, honesty or justice in the U. S. policy, if anyone in this fortunate country, that has had an opportunity to open its eyes, in this fortunate country that has had an opportunity to learn, even if the learning was bloody, this lesson of liberty and of dignity (CHEERS)...

If anyone in this country who has had the privilege of seeing a whole people transformed into a people of heroes and a people of honest and upstanding brave men (APPLAUSE); if

anyone in this country whose heroism and sacrifice grow by the day, should harbor any doubt; if those who do not agree with our ideas believe that they are flying or defending an honest flag; if they believe that they are flying and defending a fair banner a banner of justice, and, because they believe so, still have pro-yankee feelings and defend the Government of the United States; if there is any one left in our country who actually believes that in good faith, let him ponder the occurrences to which we are about to refer and very soon his last doubts will be definitely dispelled.

Yesterday, as everybody knows, some bombing planes, coming from foreign bases and divided in three separate groups, entered the national territory at exactly 6:00 o'clock in the morning and attacked different locations in our country; in each of these places our men fought heroically to defend their stations; at each of those points the precious blood of the defenders was abundantly shed. (APPLAUSE); at each of those points there were thousands, or at least hundreds and hundreds, of witnesses, material witnesses, who actually saw what happened there. Besides, that was something everybody expected, something we were all waiting for; it was the logical culmination of the burning of cane fields, of the hundreds of violations of our territory and of our air space, of pirate aircraft raids, of treacherous bombardments of our refineries by vessels that attacked in the middle of the night; it was the consequence of what everybody knows, the consequence of the aggression plans developed in the United States in connivance with certain subervient governments of Central America; it was the consequence of the air bases known to everybody because it has been publicized far and wide by even the newspapers and wire services of the United States, which are tired of discussing the armies of mercenaries being organized there, the airfields they have made ready, the aircraft delivered to them by the United States Government, the yankee instructors, the air bases built in Guatemala.

That was common knowledge to everybody in Cuba, it was really known to everybody. The attack took place yesterday before the very eyes of thousands and thousands of men. And what do you think the yankees have said when confronted with this appalling occurrence? Because now we are not referring to the explosion of the steamer "La Coubre", which was caused by an isolated case of treacherous sabotage perpetrated underhandedly; now we are dealing with a real all-out attack

simultaneously directed against three different points, a fierce attack with shrapnel, bombs, war planes and what everybody saw.

It was a public occurrence, something that was expected by everybody, something of which the whole World was aware long before it actually happened.

And so that there will be a historical record left, so that our people will learn once and for all, and so that this lesson will also benefit that part of the peoples of Latin America whom the news of what is going on here may be allowed to reach, even if it is only a ray of light, of truth, I am going to explain to the people, I am going to show the people how the imperialists work (APPLAUSE).

Do you believe the World was going to be informed of what had happened? Do you think, or rather, can you conceive the possibility of attempting to smother all over the World the echo of the murderous bombs and rockets which they shot yesterday against our Country? Could it have occurred to anybody in the whole World? Can you conceive anybody trying to deceive the whole World, to conceal the truth from the whole World! To attempt to double-cross the whole World, all at the same time? Well, the truth is that they not only attacked our country in a treacherous, dastardly attack carefully prepared and about which the whole World had already been informed, using Yankee aircraft, which dropped Yankee bombs and shot Yankee machine guns handled by mercenaries paid with money of the Yankee Central Intelligence Agency; they not only did that and not only destroyed and wrecked Cuban property, and Cuban lives too, lives of men who were still in their teens (SHOUTS), not only that, but yesterday the Government of the United States attempted to trick public opinion throughout the World, in the most shamefaced, impudent way anybody could possibly conceive (APPLAUSE).

And here are the proofs of how the imperialists act, how their machinery works, of how the imperialists not only commit crimes against the World at large but also swindle the World at large. And the worst part of it is that they not only swindle the World robbing it of its oil and its minerals, of the fruits of the toil of millions of people, but they also swindle it morally and intellectually, insulting people's intelligences by expecting them to swallow the most incredible lies and the most truculent falsehoods, stories which nobody would think of believing!

Yes, here are the proofs!

We are going to read to our people what the imperialists have told the World; we are going to show you what the World was told yesterday, what perhaps has even been believed by the tens of millions of people, of human beings who read what was published yesterday by thousands and thousands of newspapers, what was broadcast yesterday through thousands of radio and television stations, about what had happened in Cuba; what the World, or a large part, a considerable part of the World learned yesterday through the Yankee news services.

Here are some United Press cables (SHOUTS AND HISSES).

Miami, April 15. Cuban pilots who escaped from the air force of Fidel Castro landed in Florida with their second World War bombers after having bombed Cuban military installations to avenge the betrayal of a cowardly fellow conspirator".

I repeat, that came from Miami on April 15, over the UPI wires, and was published by thousands of newspapers, radio and television news broadcasts. Just listen to this: Cuban pilots! That is what they have told the World. That is what they have told the World after organizing the landing fields in Guatemala, and equipping them with planes, and with bombs, and shrapnel, and after having trained mercenaries, and commanded mercenaries, as everybody knew perfectly well! That is what they have told the World after having violated our air space hundreds of times, crowing it with the most outrageous, the most appalling, the most incredible infamy ever perpetrated, a deed that was going to be a veritable international scandal! And what have the "gringos" done? What has the "gringo" Government done? Here it is:

"Miami, April 15. UPI. Cuban pilots who had escaped from Fidel Castro's air force landed in Florida today with their Second World War bombers after having bombed Cuban military installations to avenge the treachery of a coward. One of the B-26 Bombers of the Cuban Air Force landed at the Miami International Airport with the fuselage full of holes made by anti-aircraft and machine gun fire, and with only one of its two motors running. Another one landed at the Navy Base in Key West, and a third landed in a foreign country —no name given— to which the three planes had planned —listen to this— had originally planned to go after the raid, according to competent local Cuban sources. There are unconfirmed rumors cir-

culating to the effect that another plane crashed into the sea, near Tortuga Island (APPLAUSE). At any rate, the United States Navy is investigating the case. The pilots in question asked the authorities not to divulge their identities (SHOUTS). They descended from their machines in fatigue uniforms and immediately proceeded to apply for political asylum in the United States (SHOUTS).

“Edward Arens —look at this— Edward Arens, of the Miami Immigration Service, said that their applications are being considered. The mustached airman who landed in Miami declared to the Immigration officials that he and three other pilots of the Cuban Air Force had been planning for months to flee from Castro's Cuba. He added that because of the betrayal of pilot Galo he and the other two resolved to teach him a lesson by bombing and strafing all air base installations they found on their way to liberty. He also said he had flown over his own base, located at San Antonio de los Baños, and that the other two pilots had attacked other bases. This pilot was quite accessible to newsmen, but lowered his head and donned dark sun glasses when photographers attempted to take his picture.

“He explained that he —listen to this colossal lie— he explained that he and the other pilots had left families behind in Cuba, and feared Castro's retaliation against their relatives”. So they say that they stole our planes and deserted the Army but won't tell their names, so that we won't know the names of the fellows who stole those planes and ran away with them. And they claim to be Cuban Air Force pilots. It is obvious that the American who wrote this was thoroughly drunk, hopelessly plastered yesterday morning (APPLAUSE).

“Miami, UPI. The bomber pilot who landed in Miami explained that he was one of the twelve B-26 pilots who stayed with the Cuban Air Force after the desertion of Diaz Lanz and the purges that followed it. Diaz Lanz was the Chief of Castro's Air Force, but deserted early in 1959, soon after Castro took over the Government. He added that today his assignment was a routine patrol flight over his air base, and that the other two pilots, stationed at Camp “Libertad” in the suburbs of Havana, had taken off on made-up pretexts: one of them was supposed to fly to Santiago today and the other said that he had to check his altimeter. He was in the air at exactly five after six in the morning. “My fellow fliers” he said, “took off earlier in the morning to attack the airports we had resolved to punish. Then, because I was running out of gas I had to turn and make

for Miami, since I was in no position to reach our pre-fixed rendezvous. It is quite possible that the others went to attack other bases before getting away, perhaps the Baracoa Beach area, where Fidel has his private helicopter. The airman did not reveal which was the place where they agreed to meet".

And here are some A.P. cables (SHOUTS).

"Miami, 15 AP.—Just listen to what they have told the World!" Miami, 15 AP. Three Cuban bomber pilots fearing to be double-crossed concerning their plans to escape Fidel Castro's Government, fled to the United States today after strafing and bombing the Havana and Santiago airports.

"One of the two bimotored bombers, of Second World War vintage, landed at the International Airport in Miami with a lieutenant at the controls. He narrated how he and other three of the twelve B-26 pilots that were left in the Cuban Air Force had planned for months to escape from Cuba".

"The other plane, with two men on board, landed at the Navy Air Base at Key West. The names of the pilots were withheld. The U.S. Immigration authorities placed the Cubans in custody and impounded their planes".

"Some one hundred Cuban refugees who had congregated at the airport cheered and applauded the Cuban pilot when he was taken to the Customs Office and then transported to unknown destination".

Just look at this: "Edgar Arens, Immigration Service District Director released for publicity —imagine: the Miami Immigration Director released for publicity— the following statement made by the Cuban Air Force pilot". In other words, they not only assert that he is a Cuban, but have the effrontery to say that they don't give their names so that we won't know who they are! Not only do they attempt to make us believe that they are withholding their names, the names of men who have just committed a serious crime, but the Immigration Director goes to the extreme of releasing the news for publicity. And see for yourselves the gall of those fellows, the degree of impudence of those officials and leaders of Imperialism; see how they go ahead and concoct a truculent story which not even Maria Ramos' little kitten would swallow.

The pilot is quoted as saying: —listen to the story they release for publicity to offer their gag with all sorts of details, so that the trick will not lack any detail, just listen to the tale they have invented:—

"I am one of the twelve B-26 bomber pilots, who stayed in the Cuban Air Force after the desertion of Díaz Lanz, former Chief of that force. Three of my fellow pilots and myself had been planning for months the way to get away from Castro's Cuba. Day before yesterday I learned that one of the three, Lieutenant Alvaro Galo—even a real name they have used, the name of one of the real F.A.R. pilots, just to show how far they can go with their falsehoods—day before yesterday I learned that one of the three, Lieutenant Galo, the pilot of B-26 Bomber Number FAR-915—it so happens that this particular pilot is in Santiago de Cuba, is stationed in Santiago de Cuba—had been holding a conversation with one of the agents of Ramiro Valdés, the Head of the G-2. I warned the other two, and we concluded that Alvaro Galo, who had always appeared to be something of a coward, was betraying us. So, we decided to take immediate action. Yesterday I was assigned to a routine patrol flight over my own base, that is, San Antonio de los Baños, which covers a section of Pinar del Río and the Isle of Pines area. I communicated the news to my friends at Camp Libertad, and they both agreed that we should act right away. One of them was supposed to fly to Santiago; the other gave as a pretext that he had to check his altimeter; they were scheduled to take off from Camp Libertad at six o'clock—the truth is that there were no B-26's parked at Camp Libertad, they only had defective machines there—"I was in the air by five after six; due to the treachery of Alvaro Galo we had agreed to teach him a lesson; so I flew to San Antonio de los Baños where his machine was parked and let it have two strafing passes, which also included three other planes that were parked next to it. When I was leaving I was hit by hand weapon fire and had to change to an evasive action. My buddies had already left to attack the airfields we had agreed to raid. Then, since my gas was running low I had to make for Miami, inasmuch as I could not possibly reach our meeting point, as previously agreed. Perhaps they went to raid other fields before going away, such as, for instance, the Baracoa Beach field, where Fidel keeps his helicopter".

So, that is what they have told the World. Not only do the UPI. and the AP. inform the World that "Cuban planes, piloted by Cuban officers had deserted and bombed ground installations" but they distributed that short story throughout the World and, what do you think has been fed to tens of millions of people everywhere, through the pages of thousands of newspapers and over hundreds of radio and TV stations?

What do you think they have said in Europe, in many places throughout Latin America, in many parts of the World?

Not only have they stated all that, but they have circulated a whole story, with full names and other details, explaining how they prepared everything. Not even in Hollywood would they go that far, gentlemen!

Well. That is the version propagated by the UPI and the AP, seconded by the mercenaries. It is the statement handed to the papers by the Director of Immigration, while at the same time he says that he won't reveal the names of the deserters, so that they will not be discovered, and all of that just after the fellow in question was supposed to have pilfered nothing less than a B-26.

But, does it all end there? Not by a long shot, that is not all! He had something more to say. That tale appears followed by a statement by Miró Cardona (SHOUTS AND HISSES). However, before reading to you the statements of Miró Cardona, I am going to show you a cable published in Mexico, showing what the UPI feeds the Mexicans, which illustrates what they feed the World at large; what has been published in most of the newspapers controlled by reactionary elements in Mexico, so that you will see how that international swindling machine operates:

"Mexico, D. F. 15 (AP). A bomber coming from a Cuban base and piloted by Cuban deserters was cheerfully welcomed here by most of the dailies, who joined the groups of Cuban exiles stating that the bombing was only the beginning of a movement of liberation from Communism. The Government kept silent while a group of left wing and Communist students cheered the statement of Cuban Ambassador José Antonio Portuondo, who said that the air raids had been just cowardly attacks prompted by the desperation of the imperialists. A great deal of activity was noticeable among the Cuban exiles. A Cuban source commented that the new Cuban Government in exile will go to Cuba soon after the first wave of the invasion staged against Fidel Castro to establish a provisional government there, which is expected to be promptly recognized by many Latin American anti-Castro Governments. Amado Hernández Valdés, of the "Frente Revolucionario Democrático Cubano", said here that the hour of the liberation is near; he stated that the Cuban deserters' planes had bombed four Cuban bases: Camp "Libertad", near Havana, San Antonio de los

Baños, the Santiago de Cuba Air Base, and the "Guanito" Base in Pinar del Río". Well, that is what they published in México, and more or less the same thing was published in most of the other capitals of the World, the imperialist World, I mean, the World exploited by the imperialists!

Here is what Miró Cardona had to say, so that everybody will know the kind of worms these fellows really are, so as to leave them naked before your eyes for you to see what sort of parasites they are:

"A statement delivered by Dr. Miró Cardona —this is UPI and AP stuff, of course— goes like this: A heroic attack on behalf of Cuban liberty was launched this morning by a number of officers of the Cuban Air Force who, before flying their planes to liberty, acting as true revolutionists, tried to destroy the greatest possible number of Castro's military planes. The Revolutionary Council is proud to announce that their plans were successfully carried out and that the Council has already been in contact with them and has praised those brave pilots. Their action is just another example of the desperation to which patriots of all social strata can be driven by Castro's tyranny. While Castro and his partisans try to convince the World that Cuba has been threatened with an invasion from abroad, this blow for liberty was, as others before, dealt by Cubans who lived in Cuba and decided to combat tyranny and oppression or die in the attempt. For reasons of safety no details will be made known".

Just see how those imperialists work, how lacking in respect for the rest of the World they are. Everybody knows that they had the planes there, that they had even painted Cuban flags and insignia on the planes; that has been published numberless times; see how these fellows, working as in a chain reaction go making up more and more monstrous lies, more and more impudent, shameless falsehoods than anybody could possibly think of!

Still, that is not all either. Now we are going to finish unmasking that liar kept by Imperialism there at the UNO, and who posed as an illustrious, liberal, left wing man; I refer to Adlai Stevenson who is just another shamefaced scoundrel. He goes on with his swindle trying to deceive the whole World. The UPI and the AP have already spread the tale; thousands of reactionary papers have reproduced it, as they themselves publish, that the "papers had welcomed with joy the news of the desertion of those pilots".

Here comes the delegates of "Maria Ramos' kitten" at the UNO. United States Ambassador Adlai Stevenson rejected the statements of Roa and reiterated the statements of President John F. Kennedy, to the effect that under no circumstances—I repeat—under no circumstances would there be an intervention by the armed forces of the United States in Cuba. Stevenson showed to the Commission some pictures taken by United Press International, which depict two aircraft that landed in Florida today after having participated in the air raid against three Cuban cities".

Then Stevenson adds:

"They bear the insignia of Castro's Air Force on the tail—he said pointing at one of them—it has the star and the Cuban initials: they are clearly visible, I'll be pleased to show this photo". Stevenson then said that the two planes in question were piloted by officers of the Cuban Air Force and that their crews consisted of men who had deserted Castro's regime. No personnel of the United States participated in today's incident and the planes did not belong to the United States—he pointed out—they belonged to Castro himself and took off from his own fields".

"The Cuban Minister said that this morning's raids are undoubtedly the prelude to an attempted large scale invasion organized, provisioned and financed by Washington. The Government of Cuba, Roa has said, accuses only and exclusively the United States before this Commission and before the World public opinion, of trying to use force to settle its differences with the member states".

There we have, as very seldom any people has had, the chance to know the entrails and the outside on all four sides, as well as the top and the bottom of what Imperialism really is; here we have the opportunity to observe how its financial machine operates, and how its publicity, political and economic facilities work, assisted by mercenaries, secret organizations, officials who are so apt to swindle the World with absolute coolness and impudence. So you can well imagine, how hard it was to know what was going on in the World? How can we know what is happening anywhere, if this is the version which so many people in the World have been led to believe?

In other words, they organize the attack, prepare the attack, train the mercenaries, deliver aircraft to them, deliver bombs to them, clear up airfields for them, everybody knows it; then the attack actually takes place, and they just get up and

say all this without batting an eye; before the whole World, a World which they knew would rise indignantly at such a monstrous and so cowardly a violation, which is so contemptuous of the rights of all peoples, of their right to peace and safety!

And those miserable "gringo" imperialists, after bringing grief and tears to over half a dozen homes, after murdering a handful of young men who were not millionaire parasites, they were not mercenaries sold out for any foreign gold, they were not thieves, they were beloved sons of our people (LONG APPLAUSE); they were young workmen, sons of humble, poor families, who had not robbed anything from anybody, who had not exploited anybody, who did not live on the sweat of anybody's brow, or on anybody's toil; they were men who had more right to live than all the millionaires and all the parasites put together. And infinitely more right to live than all the worms in Creation! (APPLAUSE). Because they did not live, they did not sponge on the work of their fellow men as those Yankee millionaires do; they don't live on foreign gold as the mercenaries, the worms who have sold their souls to the imperialists (SHOUTS OF OUT WITH THEM!) They don't thrive on vice or theft, and have the right to be spared, and to be protected from any miserable millionaire imperialist whose whim it may be to send down planes with bombs and rockets to destroy the young lives of such devoted sons of the Fatherland! (APPLAUSE).

And those who approve of such a crime, those who approve of such savage, such a brutal outrage, those who are so miserable as to sell their consciences and approve of such criminal deeds, those who conspire against their Fatherland on the streets, in church, at the schools, anywhere, are worthy of being treated by the Revolution as ruthlessly as possible. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF: TO THE WALL, TO THE WALL WITH THEM!)

Those are the crimes of Imperialism, those are the lies of Imperialism, and then come the Archbishops to give their blessings to all those lies! (SHOUTS OF: OUT WITH THEM) Then come the reactionary clergy to sanctify pure lies!

The imperialists plan the crime, organize the crime, furnishes the criminals with weapons for the crime, pays the criminals, and then those criminals come here and murder the sons of seven honest workers, after which they quietly land in the United States, and although the whole World knows of their

deeds, just state that they were Cuban pilots, make up a ridiculous tale, broadcast it to the entire World, publish it in all available newspapers and through all available radio and television channels that cater to the reactionaries and the worms throughout the World, and then come the archbishops and bless and sanctify such lies (HISSES AND SHOUTS OF OUT!); and it is thus that all that crowd of mercenaries, exploiters, liars and scoundrels who still live everywhere in the World get together and become partners to carry out deeds like this! (APPLAUSE). Is there any honest Cuban left who does not understand? Is there any honest Cuban left who still doubts it? If there is any honest Cuban who still doubts it, this new occurrence should be sufficient for him; but if he needs more proof, then let him go and see our bases at San Antonio, at the FAR and at Santiago de Cuba. Let him go there and see for himself if there is a single truth in what they have said; let him verify and ascertain how those reactionaries and imperialists, that lying clergy, deceive and swindle the World, just as they deceive and swindle their peoples. And the hour has arrived for those peoples to shake off those exploiters and parasites, those defrauders and swindlers and all the crooked imperialists there are in this World; they must be shaken off at any cost! (APPLAUSE)

Now I want to ask; is it possible for anybody to swindle the whole World that way? Is it conceivable for the President of the United States not to have a least bit of shame? Because if the President of the United States has just a tiny particle of shame, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is hereby challenging him before the whole World to produce and present at the United Nations the pilots and the planes that, according to him, came from Cuban territory! (LONG APPLAUSE).

Cuba proposes to demand before the United Nations the presentation there of the pilots who allegedly deserted the Cuban Air Force, as well as the planes on which they flew away. Not let us see if they can keep on holding the mask up. And if they do not produce those men and those planes, why don't they? Naturally, His Excellency the President of the United States would be entitled not to be called a liar. Allright, does His Excellency want everybody to refrain from calling him a liar? If he does not want anybody to have the right to call him a liar, well, let him present at the United Nations the two pilots and the two planes he has been talking about! (APPLAUSE). But if the President of the United States does not present those two

pilots at the United Nations, to prove —and, how can he prove it— that those pilots were here and deserted our Air Force, then not only the Cuban Revolutionary Government, but the whole world for that matter, will have the right to call him a liar and consider him as a liar! (APPLAUSE). Not only the Cuban people, but the peoples of the World will have the right to proclaim that the Government of the United States is not entitled to the least prestige or the least respect or consideration in this world! (APPLAUSE).

When the U-2 spy plane was shot down while flying over the Soviet Union, the first statement issued by the Government of the United States was that one of its planes had lost its way and had been shot down. However, a few days later when they had already spread that lie, they were left hanging in the air because it so happened that the plane's pilot was alive and talking like a parrot, telling everything to the last detail, and the United States Government found itself stripped in front of the whole world and had to admit that the plane was an American plane, that it was actually spying on the Russians, and that it had been sent precisely for that purpose!

Now, in this case the Government of the United States will have no choice but to admit that the planes were theirs, that the bombs were theirs, that the bullets were theirs, that the mercenaries were organized, trained and paid by them, that their bases were in Guatemala, which was the point from which they launched the attack on our territory, and those that were not shot down went to take refuge in United States territory, where they have been sheltered.

Yes, because the fact is that, how can the United States Government stick to their colossal lie? I am asking the UPI and the AP to be kind enough to tell Mr. Kennedy that we have warned him that if he does not present those two pilots and those two planes at the United Nations, we will proclaim, rightfully of course, that he is a liar, and that if he is not a liar, why does he not present the two pilots?

And, do they think they can hide the truth from the whole world? Well, they can't. Cuba has a new radio broadcasting plant which is already transmitting to all Latin America (APPLAUSE) and what I am saying right here is being heard by countless brothers of ours throughout Latin America and throughout the whole World!

Fortunately, the times of the stage coach are long past; we are now in the era of radio, and what a country may have to

say can be carried very far beyond that country's borders. Furthermore, those imperialists have forgotten that this is also the era of the cosmic flights (APPLAUSE) even though that kind of travel does not seem to be for the Yankees!

And so, when the echo of the words of admiration toward the Soviet Union for the precision, the advanced technique and the tremendous success for humanity represented by the fabulous scientific feat they have just achieved, when the echo of that general admiration throughout the World at the great exploit of the Soviets has scarcely died out, the Yankee Government comes forth with its own feat, the great feat of bombing the installations of a country without aviation, which has no planes, or warships, or military forces to retaliate. In other words, compatriots, we are asking the world to compare the achievement of the Soviets with the feat of the imperialists; between the rejoicing, the encouragement and the hope which the Soviet's exploit has brought to the human race, and the shame, the nausea and the disgust provoked by the Yankee deed; between the scientific exploit thanks to which Man has been able to go into the cosmic space and return safely to Earth, and the felony of the Yankees who arm mercenaries and pay them to come here and murder sixteen—and seventeen—year—olds in a sly, treacherous attack, despicable from all angles, against a country which they can't forgive for being virile, for having dignity, and for being courageous. Because what they cannot forgive, what the imperialists can't forgive, is our being right here; what the imperialists will never forgive, is our dignity and courage, and ideologic firmness, and spirit of sacrifice, and the revolutionary spirit of the Cuban people! (APPLAUSE).

That is what they cannot forgive us for; they cannot forgive our being right here under their very noses, or to see how we have made a revolution, a socialist revolution right here under their noses, under the very nose of the United States! (APPLAUSE) (SHOUTS OF PUNCH THEM HARD!)

And naturally, they hate us because we are ready to defend that Revolution with those guns, with those rifles and those machine guns you have in your hands! (APPLAUSE). Also because they know that this Socialist Revolution is going to be defended with the courage with which our anti-aircraft gunners made sieves out of the attacking invaders! (APPLAUSE) (SHOUTS OF WE WILL WIN!) (SHOUTS OF FIDEL, KHRUSHCHEV, WE ARE WITH YOU BOTH!)

This Revolution is not going to be defended with mercenaries; this Revolution is going to be defended by men and women of the people!

Who has the weapons? Are they in the hands of mercenaries? (SHOUTS OF "NO!"). Are they being held by millionaires? (SHOUTS OF "NO!"). Because the fact is that mercenary and millionaire are two of a kind. Are those arms in the hands of the spoiled boys of the rich families? No. Are they being handled by the overseers? No. Who is holding those weapons? Whose hands are those that are raising those weapons? Are they the hands of the rich (SHOUTS OF "NO!"). Are they the hands of exploiters? No, they are NOT. Whose hands are they? Are they not workers' hands? Are they not peasants' hands? Are they not hands toughened by hard work? Are they not creative hands? Are they not the hands of the humble, of the poor, of the people? And what makes up the majority of the people? The millionaires or the workers? The exploiters or the exploited? The privileged or the destitute? Are the arms in the hands of the privileged? No; they are held by the poor, by the unprivileged! Are the privileged in the minority? (SHOUTS: YES!) Are the poor in the majority? (SHOUTS: YES!) Is it, or is it not democratic, a Revolution in which the humble people have the arms (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FIDEL!").

Comrades, workers and peasants: this is a socialist and democratic Revolution of the poor and the destitute for the poor and the destitute! And for this Revolution of the poor, by the poor and for the poor we are anxious to give our lives! (SHOUTS).

Workers and peasants, men and women of the Fatherland: Do you swear that you will defend with your last drop of blood this Revolution of the poor, by the poor and for the poor? (SHOUTS OF "YES!").

Fellow workers and peasants of the Fatherland; yesterday's raids were only a prelude, a preliminary preparation for the full fledged aggression by the mercenaries; yesterday's attack, which cost the lives of seven heroes, was designed to destroy our ground installations, and the aircraft parked in them, though, of course, they failed; the enemy only managed to destroy two machines and most of the enemy craft was badly damaged or shot down (APPLAUSE). Here, facing the graves of our fallen comrades, close to the remains of these young heroes, the children of poor people, next to the bodies of

these victims, let us reaffirm our decision to emulate them; let us swear that just as they presented their young chests to the enemy's bullets, just as they offered their lives, so will we, no matter when or how those mercenaries may come, all of us, immensely proud of our Revolution, proud to defend this Revolution of the poor, by the poor and for the poor, we will not hesitate, we will not waver, and will not be stopped, whoever the enemy may be, and regardless of how many they may be, we will shed our last drop of blood (APPLAUSE).

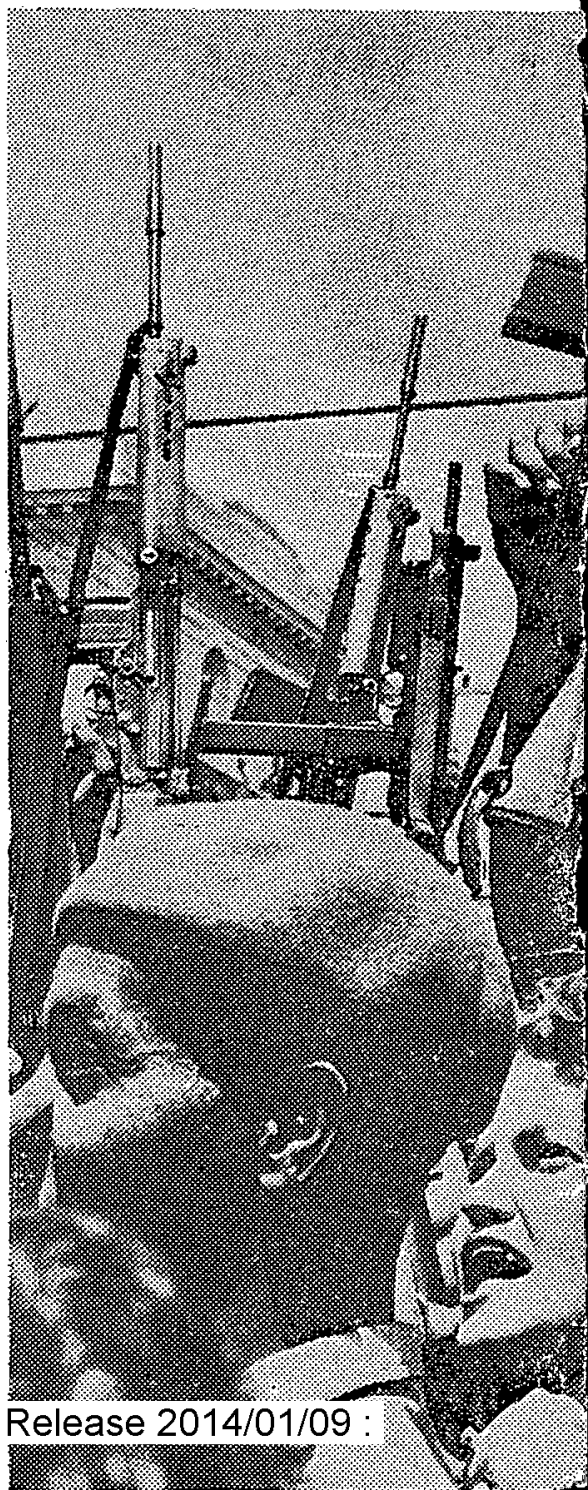
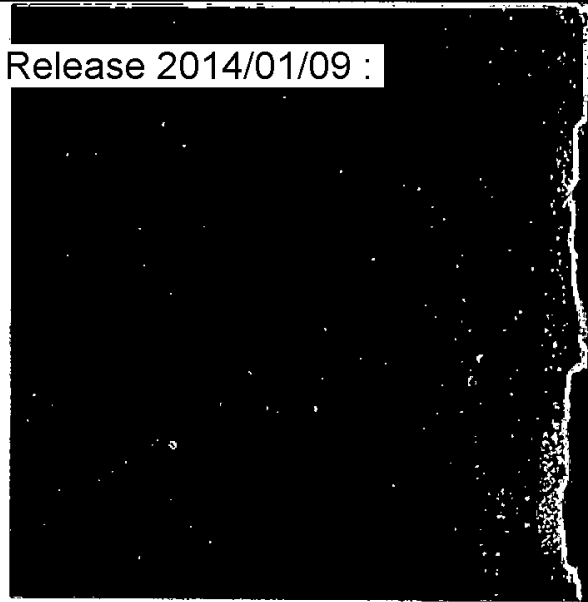
Long live the working class! Long live the peasants! Long live the poor! Long live the martyrs of the Fatherland. Long live the heroes of the Fatherland! Long live the Socialist Revolution! Long live liberty for Cuba!

Fatherland, or Death! We will win! (APPLAUSE).

To the battle... let us sing the National Anthem!

Comrades; all units must go to the quarters of their respective battalions in view of the mobilization ordered to keep the whole country on the alert, in the face of an imminent aggression that can be expected after all the occurrences of the last few weeks and after the cowardly attack of yesterday. Let us march to the Militia Houses, prepare our battalions and make ready to face the enemy, with the National Anthem, with the words of that patriotic song, convinced that "to die for one's country is to live forever! and that to live in chains is to live in shame and degradation!"

Let us march to our respective battalions and once there wait for orders, comrades!



EDITORIAL EN MARCHA
APARTADO POSTAL 6386.
LA HABANA, CUBA.

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always

determined,

always

ready to face sacrifices!

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(Department of Recorded Transcripts of the Revolutionary Government).

Students, workers, fellow citizens:

We have come today to commemorate one more anniversary, of one more sacrifice, by one more group of martyrs, on one more date for our fatherland.

Many are the dates which we can commemorate, but some are symbols; and this date, the 13th of March, is one of those symbolic dates which our fatherland shall always remember.

A few days ago we met together to remember the workers and soldiers who fell when the "La Coubre" exploded; today, it is to remember the heroic act and comrades who fell on this date, to remember those young university students who paid such a high price for what we have today.

And so it is logical that we who represent the revolutionary people, who represent the nation's revolutionary forces, the social revolutionary forces and their organizations, should get together here tonight.

The comrades who have just spoken have told the story of this day, and it is absolutely true that all those who really wanted to make a true revolution have remained faithful to the banner of the Revolution. Comrade Cubela enumerated those members of the Revolutionary Directorate who fought together with comrade Echeverria, and he pointed out that they are all present here, all leaders of that revolutionary organization. We can say exactly the same for

all the comrades who, during the difficult days of fighting in the mountains, remained there ready to face all obstacles; and exactly the same for the members of the Popular Socialist Party (applause) who, during the difficult days of persecution and underground work, did not desert their cause; and the same thing for all those Cubans who, during the great stretches of time, during long years, perhaps entire lifetimes, have been working for this hour for Cuba; and we would be able to say the same, if they were alive, for all those youths and all revolutionaries who, in the course of our republic, knew how to give their lives for an ideal; and we would say the same for those mambises who in '68 and '95 knew how to fight and knew how to die, and for those who lived — even though they did not have this chance we have now, to see the standard of the fatherland waving in free air! (applause).

THE REVOLUTION HAS BEEN CLEANSING IT RANKS

The history of all peoples is made by loyal men, men who persevere, men who do not desert their cause. And so this Revolution has been cleansing its ranks. We have seen days in which men stood hypocritically on the rostrum, at commemorations such as this, who, for lack of ideals, for lack of morals, for lack of honor, had no right to stand here.

The revolution itself has taken care of leaving them behind; many of them have been, for some time now, on the other side. But, in truth, we who remain feel much better. There were some faces which required great patience on our part to tolerate; nonetheless, just as the revolution has not denied to anyone a battle post, just as the revolution has not been exclusive, just as the revolution was nobody's monopoly, they had the right — if they wanted — to turn themselves into revolutionaries. They did not exercise it. They preferred to exercise the right to turn themselves into mercenaries. They had the right to remain loyal; the people was generous in forgetting many sins, but the sinners returned to sin — instead of being loyal, they were traitors.

Those who remained here at the side of the revolution are like the men and women here tonight who do not move from their spot, who are capable of smiling and taking a heavy downpour in their stride as if it were just anything (applause). And of this I was just thinking, of the firmness of the men and women of the people; I was just thinking of the marvel that is a revolutionary people, of the difference between yesterday and today, of the difference between the crowds which met in the heat of a passing enthusiasm and the people

who meet today, firm-grasping their banner, deep-rooted in their land, a people to depend on, forever (applause).

Such a people will not be shaken by economic aggression, nor by the sacrifices which this aggression imposes on us, nor by dangers, nor by terror; those who scorned this people yesterday still have not learned to give it enough credit today; those who scorn this people have never shared the people's feelings; those who scorn this people are those who associate themselves with the most immoral interests to try to take from the people what the Revolution has given it, to try to grab from the people what the revolution has conquered for it; but above all, to try to snatch away not its present—for the present is full of hours of fighting, the present is full of efforts, the present may be full of sacrifices—but to snatch away its future, the future for which we are all fighting.

OUR REVOLUTION WILL MAKE HISTORY

And the time has come for us to learn, the hour has arrived for us to understand, to know what a revolution is. A revolution is an exceedingly serious event; a revolution is an exceedingly serious event; a revolution is an exceedingly deep and great act in the life of peoples; a revolution is not easily made. Later generations always speak of the events of past revolutions, and we have always read and spoken of the great revolutions with true admiration, but above all, of the people and the generations who wake revolutions.

And our Revolution is one of those events which will make history; and the people who is making this revolution, and the generation that is making this revolution, will be spoken of with admiration tomorrow by the coming generations of Cuba, of America, and of the whole world (Applause).

For this reason, we must be worthy of the undertaking we are carrying out; we should not entertain any illusions that it will be easy. It is possible that until now it has not been very difficult; it is possible that until now it has not called for great sacrifices; it is possible that until now the people have been able to receive much—and, in fact, we have received much in a short time, and we have made few sacrifices; for, in truth, the people have not made sacrifices. In truth, those who have had to give up some profits or some personal satisfactions here, have been those who used to exploit the people. Those who used to exploit the people have seen many of their luxuries and privileges disappear. But this class still exerts some influence on the people. This class is not the class that preaches sacrifice; this is the class that tries to arouse discontent. This class is not

the first to advise strength in the face of privations — it is the first to begin grumbling, the first to complain, and it tries to spread its resentment and its bitterness to everybody else.

For this reason, we must understand the revolution for what it is: a bitter conflict between definite interests. And revolutions are made in the people's interest; revolutions are made in the interest of you, young people, humble men and women of the people; revolutions are made to bring happiness to those who never before have had it, to bring benefits to those who never before have received them — even though to achieve this just end all those excess privileges and benefits held by a few must be sacrificed (applause).

The dominant classes were not only corrupted, they not only lived dedicated to frivolity and idleness, but in addition, they spread their corruption, or they tried to expand it, to other sections of the people. They tried to spread their whims and tastes to the very classes they dominated; they tried to infect these classes with their own lack of sacrificing spirit, their lack of creative spirit, with their own lack of desire for progress.

And, in truth, for us to really understand the revolution, it is necessary for you, humble men and women of the people, to understand always that this is a fight between those who yesterday exploited you, and yourselves — with those of us who are fighting at your side — so that the people may have that which they have always been denied; you must understand that those sacrificed here because of the reality of the revolution, those deliberately sacrificed, are the privileged; those whom the revolution sacrifices without the slightest concern are those who used to exploit the people (applause). And the other sacrifices, those imposed on us by the struggle, are sacrifices which we must make to achieve victory.

THE PEOPLE POSSESSED NOTHING

Before, as we were saying, the people possessed nothing; on the other hand there was, overriding everything, a vast difference between those who swam in abundance and those who swam in misery; between those who had several houses, several cars, big businesses and big profits — just think, for example, of that family that used to take in a hundred and fifty thousand dollars monthly in rent collections,— between those who had their wardrobes full of clothes, between those who had the most luxurious furniture in their houses, the most modern electrical appliances, at whose disposal was every comfort and all the luxury imaginable, and those who had neither house nor shoes nor furniture nor medicine nor even food. There was a true abyss. There was a true abyss between the two.

Therefore, when in the midst of a revolution a few things are lacking, those who feel the lack are not exactly those who always lacked everything. The peasant family who used to live in an earthen hut and today receives a modern house with electric light and running water who has a school for his children, who has a doctor, who has a job, does not notice anything lacking; those who used to lack everything, today miss nothing, and those who used to have everything today miss everything (applause).

It is good that we have entered upon this topic since the Revolution is entering a stage of bitter struggle, bitter struggle against those privileges which have not resigned themselves to their disappearance, of bitter struggle against an empire which also has not resigned itself to its disappearance. And as we enter this stage, we must alert our spirit, we must alert our minds, we must raise higher our guard, we must raise our revolutionary consciousness, we must increase our vigilance, we must steel our courage, we must prepare ourselves to give battle. (Applause and shouts of: "Venceremos, venceremos," —we will win, we will win).

And when we speak of sacrifices, we do not say that the people will lack clothing, the people will not lack schools, the people will not lack houses, the people will not lack hospitals, the people will not lack jobs (applause and shouts of: "Venceremos, venceremos"). No, the people will not lack these things, and he who did not have work, nor a house, nor a school for his children, nor medicines, nor food, will feel the shortage of absolutely nothing; he who used to have nothing will be able to bear the difficult hours much better. The people will not lack essentials. But the important thing is to know whether the exploiters of yesterday are going to influence us because we lack a few things which are not indispensable (applause). Because without what is not indispensable we can live, without what is not indispensable we can continue forward.

WE PUT AN END TO THEIR EXPLOITATION OF OUR PEOPLE

The aggression and the economic blockade can deprive the people of many things which are not indispensable; the aggression and economic blockade can deprive the nation, momentarily, of some things which are indeed indispensable, for example, for industry. And it's clear: what do the enemies of the Revolution want? Do they want, perchance, to facilitate its triumph? Or do they want to fill its road with obstacles? What the enemies of the Revolution want is the

failure of the Revolution. Why? In order to return to yesterday, to return to that epoch in which a few had everything and swam in abundance, while millions of Cubans lacked everything and swam in misery. (Applause).

When the imperialist Government decreed the elimination of our sugar quota, what did it want? When the imperialist Government decided to stop the shipment of industrial machinery parts and machines to Cuba, what did it want? It wanted to cause hunger, it wanted to leave us without economic resources, it wanted to paralyze our transport, paralyze our industries, to leave us without economic resources. To make us fail. And, why did they want to make us fail? Simply because we put an end to the abuses which they were committing against our people, because we put an end to their exploitation of our people, because we recovered our national lands which were in foreign hands, because we recovered our national industry which was in foreign hands, because we recovered our national public utilities which were in foreign hands, because we recovered our national banks which were in foreign hands, because we recovered our national sugar production which was in foreign hands (applause), because we recovered our national sovereignty which was in foreign hands, because we have recovered for the people what was yesterday the patrimony of foreign monopolies.

Because of this, and so that our brother peoples of America will not do the same thing, because of this, and to prevent the same thing from happening to their monopolies in other parts of America, they want the Revolution to fail; because they don't want to lose the mines, the lands, the banks, the industries, and the business they have throughout the world. Because of this they want the Revolution to fail, and because we have been the first to do what all the peoples of America would like to do (applause); and because we have decided to govern ourselves for ourselves; and because we have recaptured our national independence and sovereignty; and because we are a free people who do not have to ask anybody's permission (applause); and because we are, because we are a people decided and firm who have had the courage to stand up to the imperialist colossus. (Applause).

Because they no longer have here a degraded and submissive government, for that, they want the Revolution to fail; because the Cuban people are showing the rest of the peoples of America the true road to liberation (applause), liberation which they can never expect, liberation which they can never expect from the shameless hands which want to buy the conscience of America with a few million dollars! (Applause).

Because we are showing the American peoples the true road to the justice and liberation which they can never expect from those

very ones who follow only one thought: to maintain their colonial domination of the continent, to maintain their ownership of the continent's natural resources, to maintain the markets in which to invest their usurer's dollars, and to make fabulous profits at the expense of the people's misery.

It would be as if the farmer were to wait for the latifundist to give him land; it would be as if the slave were to wait for the master to give him freedom, it would be as if the poor were to wait for the rich to give them bread.

We are showing America the true road; it is because of Cuba, and only because of the Cuban revolution, that the imperial government has suddenly become worried and has remembered that Latin America exists. Until barely two years ago the yankee empire has forgotten that Latin America existed. Today, since the case of Cuba has suddenly shown them Latin America exists, they are seriously concerned but not about the welfare of America, no, they are worried about losing America (applause).

Just whom will the business cartels convince that the gold-thirsty misers, the yankee millionaires, are worried about the progress of America? The yankee millionaires, and those who represent them in the government of that country, are preoccupied only with the fear of losing their business interests in America, the fear of losing their oil wells in America, the fear of losing their latifundia in America (applause), the fear of losing the cheap labor in America, the fear of losing the market for capital in America.

And this supposed "alliance for progress" proposed today by millionaire Kennedy (shouts and hisses) is truly pulling the leg of history, and trying to pull the leg of the whole Continent. Alliance for progress! And of what does he speak? Does he speak of land reform? No! Because Kennedy knows that his friends and allies in Latin America are not the poor farmers, not the landless Indians; no, Kennedy knows that his friends and allies in Latin America are the big landlords!

HE DOES NOT DARE TO MENTION THE WORD "FACTORY"

What is he talking about? Does he refer, perchance, to the industrial development of Latin American countries? To the development of their great natural resources? Does he speak, perchance, of economic independence? No! What does he speak of? Well, he speaks of houses, schools and roads, that is to say, he speaks of using 500 million dollars, not to build industries, not to carry out a land reform. No! And why not? Because Kennedy is the representative of the

American millionaires, and the American millionaires do not want domestic industries in Latin America; the American millionaires are losing their markets for capital in Asia, the American millionaires are being pushed out of other parts of the world, and the American millionaires do not want national industries in Latin America, they only want yankee industries in Latin America.

That is the why, when he speaks of the alms, of the 500 millions in alms with which he hopes to buy the conscience of America, he does not dare to mention the word "factory", he does not dare to mention the words "national industry", he does not dare to mention a single measure by which the people can solve their problems.

Kennedy cannot speak of economic development because his ties to the big monopolies, to the big millionaires, won't let him. And if the millionaires give alms, it is on condition that they be spent on things which will not lead to economic independence, which will not lead to the development of the national economies, because the high financiers are not prepared to accept any policy which leads to the economic development of Latin America. This is not to mention that the alms will always go to those who, in general, rob even the nails from the floor; those to whom the dollars will come in by one hand and be spent by the other, mostly in pleasure trips to Europe or the United States.

And so, what does he speak of? Of schools. The 500 millions of Kennedy is not what is needed to solve the school problems. Cuba is the first country in Latin America that now has all the teachers needed for primary instruction (applause); and Cuba is the first country in America, including the United States, that will completely eradicate illiteracy (applause). And by the end of this year, Cuba will be the only country in the whole Continent that will be able to paint on its airport the declaration, "Here everybody can read and write" (applause).

Kennedy's five hundred million is not what is needed to solve the housing problem; the Revolution has given each family the house where it was living (applause). In addition to this, this year in Cuba, in the countryside alone, twenty-five thousand houses are being built (applause).

The five hundred million Yankee dollars is not what is needed to build roads, because in Cuba we are reaching even the most distant regions of the country, even spots that were isolated for centuries, such as the Peninsula of Zapata, which today has magnificent highways—all this in only two years of the Revolutionary Government (applause).

Kennedy's five hundred million dollars is not what is needed to solve the problems of school construction; here everything from the

School City to the smallest fort has been converted into a school by the Revolution (applause).

That is to say, what is needed to solve these problems is not five hundred million in alms, what is needed is something else: the recovery of the national resources from foreign hands.

And why can we, without five hundred millions, without one million—which we neither need nor want (applause)—why can we, in spite of the fact that we do not ask nor need, and even though they have been robbing us, as they have robbed us, of hundreds of millions of dollars, criminally, in an act of infamous aggression, an act of unqualified aggression against a country whose economy was completely dependent on a market which they had created, a country whose economy had been molded by them, in their own interests; even having robbed us hundreds of millions of dollars, having completely cut off the sugar quota in an act of unqualified aggression to be expected only of imperialist bandits (applause), in an act of international piracy to be expected only of imperialist obstructionists, snatching millions of dollars from our economy, how is it that in spite of this fierce aggression we can have teachers, we can have schools, we can have houses, roads, and hospitals? How is it that in spite of this cowardly aggression there are two hundred thousand more Cubans with jobs? How is it that in spite of this dastardly aggression there are one hundred scholarship students at the University of Havana? (applause) How, in spite of this fierce aggression, have we vastly increased our national production? How, without alms, and even being robbed of what was ours, though this was only because our economy was an economy which they had forged to fit their own interests, a single-crop economy, an economy dependent upon only one market, violating all the principles of Martí, how have we been able to achieve already in two years what Mr. Kennedy offers to America as pie in the sky? How? And why? Simply because we have thrown out the Yankee monopolies (applause); simply because we have made a revolution, and have recovered for the people their fundamental resources.

And this is something that cannot be stopped with alms, this is something that cannot be conquered by an usurer's dollars, this is something they can never offer to our America. And our America cannot be bought for five hundred million dollars, our America cannot be bought at any price; because economic independence is not for sale, national dignity is not for sale, nobody can sell the people's future, and he who tries to sell it will be cheating the buyer! (applause).

THE GIANT, FRIGHTENED, FEELS FEEBLE IN FRONT OF DIGNITY

Kennedy wants to buy what nobody can sell; that is why, faced with the determination of a little people, one of the smallest peoples of the Continent, the "all-powerful giant" of the Continent gets excited and filled with worries and fear, and says that the problem of Cuba is not a problem between it, the giant, and the little country; the giant, frightened, feels weak when confronted by the dignity, the right, and the prestige of the little people (applause), and says that the Cuban problem is not a dispute between the United States and Cuba, but rather between all the American Continent and Cuba; and we say that the problem of the United States is not the problem between Cuba and the United States, but rather between all Latin America and the United States! (prolonged applause).

The distinguished Mexican revolutionary leader, Lázaro Cárdenas (applause), was right when he said that if it should occur to Kennedy to pay a visit to South America, he would get a reception very similar to that which Mr. Nixon (shouts of "Fuera"! — out with him!) received — that is, he would be received with the same demonstrations that received the former vice-president.

The fact is that Latin America is waking up. Why this high-pressure meeting with the Latin American ambassadors? Why this announcement of "important declarations"? Why? Just because they can see that America is waking up, and because their plans are failing.

The popular victories of the left wing in several Latin American countries are more than enough to worry very seriously the followers of Yankee imperialism; the worthy attitude taken by the President of Brazil (applause), and the President of Ecuador (applause) in defense of the Cuban Revolution, that is to say, in defense of the free self-determination of peoples and against unilateral or collective intervention in the affairs of other peoples; the declarations of the current President of the Government Council of Uruguay (applause); the victory of Palacios in Argentina (applause); the victories of the Socialist Party and Communist Party candidates in Chile (applause), where the three candidates of the Popular Front won a formidable victory; the extraordinary significance of the "Latin American Conference for Economic Emancipation, Sovereignty, and Peace" which was just held in Mexico (applause); the attitude of the Mexican government towards Cuba (applause), and the decided support of a political figure of such popularity and prestige in Mexico as Lázaro Cárdenas (applause), are more than sufficient reasons for Yankee imperialism to worry. One of those absurd senators that seem to be so abundant in the United States Senate actually proposed an

investigation —nothing less than an investigation in the United States Senate!— of a conference that was going to be held in Mexico. However, it seems that the tremendous prestige and personality of Lázaro Cárdenas (applause) had its effect even on them!

QUADROS HAS PROCLAIMED THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION

And just look at the attitude of the imperialist press towards Janios Quadros (applause); just look at the invariable attitude of imperialism. Quadros has proclaimed a policy of full national sovereignty; Quadros has proclaimed the right of Brazil to maintain relations and to trade with all the countries of the world (applause); Quadros has proclaimed his support of the movement for the admittance of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations (applause); Quadros has proclaimed the principle of non-intervention; to the Yankee plans of forming an anti-Cuba block, Quadros has said "No" (Applause). These are absolutely sovereign actions of one country of America.

A special U.S. envoy goes to Brazil, and whom do they send? Oh, miracle of Yankee intelligence! They send no one less than a former ambassador who had previously served there with complete lack of respect for Brazilian sovereignty. It is natural that the Brazilian President should receive him courteously, of course; at the appointed time, of course; but without crawling there like a reptile to eat humble pie as other government leaders of Latin America have done on similar occasions. He simply keeps the proper attitude, maintains the composure and dignity of a President, and that, that alone, has been enough for the imperialist newspapers to unleash a fierce propaganda campaign against the President of Brazil. How well we remember this attitude by this same press towards us!

No economic and social questions have been discussed; just measures of international scope, and already the empire is annoyed, and once again the empire declares in the face of the world that it will not tolerate independent policies in Latin America, that it is not prepared to stand for dignified postures in Latin America. And even some Yankee newspaper actually threatened Quadros. Here is an example of the lack of respect shown by one of these imperialist libel-sheets towards the President of Brazil:

"El Diario de New York", which published in full the exclusive interview of Janos Quadros by the General Director of Prensa Latina, Jorge Ricardo Masetti, later attacked the President of Brazil and the Latin American news agency in an editorial: "Last week,

Quadros came very close to refusing to speak with President Kennedy's envoy, former Ambassador to Brazil A. Berle, and yet he receives as a special visitor the Director General of Prensa Latina to proclaim his support for People's China, the Soviet Union, and the Government of Cuba". (applause) So says "El Diario de New York".

Finally, "El Diario de New York" threatens the Brazilian President, declaring that "if Quadros continues along the same line, we don't think he will stay in power much longer in the biggest country in the hemisphere. The Brazilian army" — just look how they already begin to speak of the army — "in spite of communist infiltration into high and unsuspected positions, is not communist, nor will it tolerate a fidelist regime" (shouts). That is to say that this Yankee libel-sheet is threatening the President of Brazil with a coup d'etat; this Yankee libel-sheet already speaks of the army; faced with a simple manifestation of sovereignty, this Yankee libel-sheet declares that if he follows along the same road he will not last long, that if he follows along the same road he will be overthrown — just because he has asserted his country's sovereignty!

It won't be long before imperialism moves from criticism to conspiracy, that is, from the words to deeds, in order to do what they have always done whenever a government has declared itself independent, whenever a government has declared itself sovereign: the coup d'etat, the counter-revolutionary conspiracy; as they have done it so many times in so many countries of America, and as they are trying to do it here, of course, without the remotest possibility of success! (Applause).

We are certain that the slander campaigns of the imperialist press, the threats of imperialism, will result only in uniting the Brazilian people, as they united the Cuban people, will unite them around their President to maintain the line of independence and national sovereignty (applause).

And it won't be long before they begin to accuse President Janios Quadros of being a Communist; some newspapers are already beginning the campaign. Meanwhile, in Ecuador, its President declared, with unusual courage, that he had been offered financial aid for breaking relations with Cuba. Just observe how corrupt and shameless is the imperialist policy! The corrupt policy of the millionaire usurers who hand out a handful of dollars and expect to buy the dignity and self respect of the governments of America. That is the alliance for progress about which Mr. Kennedy spoke.

But we will see what happens in Latin America, we will see whether the imperialists are right; we will see if the conscience of America can be bought as Kennedy thinks or if the conscience of America is not for sale as we think (applause). And, of course, he

did not forget to mention Cuba, he did not forget to mention his "deep sympathy" for the Cuban people; sympathy for the latifundists, yes! sympathy for the Yankee companies that were here, yes! sympathy for those who used to control the banks, yes! sympathy for the gangsters who used to control gambling and smuggling, yes! sympathy for rats and war criminals, yes! sympathy for traitors, yes! sympathy for racists, yes! sympathy for exploiters, yes! But sympathy for the worker, no! sympathy for the peasant, no! sympathy for the Negro, no! sympathy for the humble, no! sympathy for the exploited, no! because the millionaires usurers sympathize with other usurers like themselves, and they are incapable of sympathizing with the people (long applause and shouts of "Pim-pom fuera, abajo Caimanera" — pim-pom fuera, down with Caimanera).

And this was not the first time that the President of the United States has made gestures in that hypocritical tone towards our country. In recent days an incident occurred which revealed a great deal about the true personality of the new U.S. President; a very significant incident.

There was an outbreak of poliomyelitis in the city of Guantánamo. At the moment there was no vaccine on hand and the local Red Cross officer, instead of communicating immediately with the National Red Cross to fly vaccine to the scene at once, decided, perhaps out of impatience, perhaps out of naiveness, or maybe, who knows, out of kindness, on his own to ask the Red Cross at the naval base for some vaccine — without first consulting anybody. Neither the National Red Cross nor the Health Ministry knew anything.

Faced with this emergency, what did the people at the base do? Did they act as one should act in such circumstances — if anyone for whatever motive comes to ask for vaccine to prevent an epidemic among children? Did they send the vaccine discreetly, maintaining a dignified reserve in the face of this? No. An army of reporters and photographers arrived immediately, and with much ceremony, and much solemnity, they drew up a formal document, and made a big fuss about the vaccine. This, of course, was bad. But what was incredible was that scarcely 48 hours had passed when the very President of the United States at his press conference, so much hatred and worry does he apparently feel in connection with Cuba, that making undignified and political use of that action, declared that he — the humble saint that is Kennedy! — had a great sympathy for the Cuban people, as shown by the vaccine which he had sent; one hundred and sixty some vaccine shots, requested without need and without consultation.

And this should teach us, this should teach us that everyone is not like ourselves, this should teach us that everyone does not

know how to distinguish between a political act and a human act; to the point where an enemy may even do you a favor. And if some day these same imperialists should come to ask our aid to save some North American children, we would give them vaccine without publicity and without politics (applause).

To act as a vulgar hack politician would have acted! As that subject we know so well — the petty politician — would have acted! And the most ridiculous thing of all was that they were so anxious to make political hay out of those vaccine shots that they did not notice, or they did not want to notice, that the vaccine had expired three months before.

This incident tells us a great deal about the character of this gentleman, who is always trying to profit by sowing, in passing, his insidious assertion that he loves the Cuban people, but does not love the Revolutionary Government. Now then, doesn't Mr. Kennedy know that this Government is the people (applause and shouts of "Fidel! Fidel!"); doesn't Mr. Kennedy know that he cannot separate us from the people, just as we cannot separate him from the monopolies and the millionaires (applause); that today in Cuba the people and the Revolutionary Government are one and the same, just as today in the United States millionaires, loan sharks and Government are one and the same (applause); that this is not a government of the enriched caste, that this is not a government of thieves, that this is not a government of exploiters, this is not a government of politicians, this is not a government of eunuchs, that this is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people! (Applause) — the Revolution of the humble, by the humble and for the humble! (applause).

I thank them for what they are teaching the people of Cuba; I thank them for what the people of Cuba have learned; I thank them for what they have done to open the eyes of the people of Cuba.

I thank them for teaching the people to distinguish between what is true and what is false, between the essence of human rights and liberties, and their masquerade of human rights and liberties.

Thank you for having shown this people that the "free world" of the imperialists is the free world of Spain, of the millions murdered by Francoism (applause); that this free world is the free world of the German war-mongers and militarists, of the Japanese war-making oligarchy; the free world of the Chiang Kai-Shek's (shouts and hisses); the free world of the assassins of Lumumba; the free world of the assassins of Sandino; and, above all, the free world of those criminals who murdered close to a hundred workers and soldiers by blowing up the ship, "La Coubre"; the free world of those who arm the murdering hands of Batista's lackeys; the free world of those who

support the exploiters; the selfish oligarchies which swim in abundance while the people swim in misery; the free world of the monopolies and trusts; the free world of the hypocrites the free world of disguised patriots who speak impudently of liberty and insult the name of liberty and offend the name of human dignity — because they want to turn the people into slaves to work for the usurers and the easy idlers! (applause)

And we have learned from them, in a very short time, what imperialism is, how it will not tolerate the slightest manifestation of liberty; how it is a world without ideology and without principles; a world that practices and worships crime, violence and aggression; that worships war, that worships gold.

That is their only ideal, their only goal: gold, even though it be blood-stained gold; gold, even though it be gold made on the sweat of millions of men of all the peoples of the world. And this is also their only religion. Do they believe in God? No! For them the only god is gold. Do they believe in liberty? No! For them the only liberty is gold. Do they believe in democracy? No! For them the only democracy is gold. Do they believe in dignity? No! For them there exists no dignity which cannot be bought for gold, and they are not capable of conceiving any dignity which cannot be bought for gold! They have no ideals which they are not apt to sell for gold! They have no principles which they are not capable of trading for gold! Gold, gold, and gold —that is the philosophy of imperialism! (Applause).

That is what we have learned. And if the North American people do not know this yet, it is because the magnates who control the magazines, television, newspapers, movies, and all the means of spreading ideas do not let them know it. And they are even capable of bringing a catastrophe to destroy that whole people while that people hardly realizes it! Because if the North American people do not understand these truths it is because there exists today a machinery specially designed to deceive them, to make them look at the most essential things in national and international policy with the same criterion with which they would buy a bottle of Coca-Cola or a brand of cigarettes.

They inculcate lies just as they inculcate advertising slogans. And they persecute the writer; and if there should be a writer or an artist who dared to rebel against this world of lies, they ban him and even jail him. And they exercise absolute control over all the means of spreading ideas.

And that is why that people doesn't see; although the day may be near when the North American people will learn, and learn a great deal, according as the millions of unemployed increase, according as

that artificial economy flounders between war and crisis; some day the people of the United States will learn, some day the people of the United States will wake up!

And here is something that we can tell Mr. Kennedy: He will see a victorious revolution in the United States before he will see a victorious counter-revolution in Cuba (applause). Because this regime rests on solid foundations; this revolutionary regime rests on foundations of justice. And his regime, considered nationally as well as internationally, rests on foundations of injustice, rests on foundations which are destined to disappear just as colonialism and imperialism are destined to disappear (applause).

Because of this, we can think of the dawn of a new life while they live with the obsession of a dying old life. We can think of the future and fight to make a better future, while the imperialists must live recalling the era of slave chains, and anxiously trying to hold back a new world, better for the world, and better for the United States as well.

This is the great difference. The other is just a difference of power. Of material power? All right, but we have another power, the power of reason; and we have another great power, the power of justice; and still one more great power, the thirst for justice, for right, and for a better life for 200 million Latin Americans (applause). And the peoples of Latin America, having decided to be free and to have a better world, cannot be stopped by force; all the millions of marines could not stop them; not all their soldiers and all their planes, and hardly even all their atomic bombs would be sufficient. Because when men scattered over the Continent, the hungry men of the Continent, know what free men can achieve, all the power of the empire will mean nothing against them.

What can an empire do against a world? What could the nazis do even when they controlled most of Europe? The peoples rose up and fought them, resistance increased, and throughout Europe groups of armed patriots fought the nazi invaders.

Are the imperialists brutal, as brutal as the nazis? Yes, for nazism was nothing more than a consequence of imperialism; nazism, like Fascism, is the goal or the end pursued by imperialist regimes; and that which fed their thirst for blood, those horrible crimes, the extermination of entire peoples, was the same eagerness for domination, exploitation, and gold that dominates the morbose brains of the Yankee war-mongers.

Are they, or can they become, as brutal as the nazis? It doesn't matter. It is difficult to surpass the nazis for brutality, and yet the nazis could not control Europe; and much less can they; for all their organization of training schools for oligarchy officials, for all their

brain-racking to think up tactics to combat revolutions, they are doomed to failure, and history will show that all their tactics, all their millions, all their schools and all their preventive measures will not stop the destiny of America.

Against their material power is the power of our right; but the power of right is not the only power we have; the world is not only Cuba, Cubans are not the only colonial people; Cubans are not the only people exploited by imperialism; fortunately, the world is much bigger, the world is big, and the world of peoples who have freed themselves from exploitation, from colonialism, from imperialism, and from capitalism, is also a mighty world! (applause). And science in the service of mankind, science in the service of justice, has developed forces much more powerful than those developed by science serving exploitation; and therefore, looking at the question of force to force, the power of imperialism is a decadent power against the power of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the socialist countries! (long applause).

Also, the imperialist gentlemen no longer thrive on the respect of the world as they did in past decades, and their chances to maneuver are greatly diminished; so, what lies ahead inevitably — and it is good for us to think carefully about this — is that within ten years the production capacity and the actual production of the Soviet Union will be far ahead of the production capacity and the production of the United States (applause) and what will inevitably happen is that the living standard in the Soviet Union will surpass the living standard in the United States (applause). And when that country, a country devastated by the civil war that they hurled against the October Revolution, the civil war plotted in foreign lands, a country invaded and almost destroyed by 13 armies, a country which had a semi-feudal economy and then was devastated again by imperialist aggression. Remember that when the last war was over, tens of thousands of plants and tens of thousands of towns of the Soviet Union were destroyed, fields were razed, and cattle herds exterminated; while all the industrial installations of the United States were left intact, not a single bomb exploded on a Yankee factory, not a single screw was lost by a single Yankee plant.

Fifteen years have passed. In the so-called "free world", there is more hunger, more misery. Who says so? Ah! Kennedy himself says so — he said it today: (reading)

"Population growth is surpassing economic growth; low standards of living threaten to become still lower": —In the "free world"! — "and the dissatisfaction of a people who knows that abundance and the instruments of progress are finally within reach, will increase..." What Kennedy does not say is the why, why the industrial output

of that country is so much below its capacity to produce; what he does not say is that this crisis of hunger, this increase in poverty, is simply a consequence of imperialism; and we see no way to solve the problem without the disappearance of imperialism.

These are truths which no type of lie comes even close to changing; these are truths so irrefutable that they cannot be altered by any sermon of any reactionary clergyman (shouts: "Fuera!" — out with them!), or any editorial of any reactionary newspaper; these are truths: that in the United States after the war there was an enormous industrial capacity, a capacity of no use to humanity. 15 years have passed, and the country razed by the nazis, the country demolished twice in forty years, is advancing so rapidly that very soon it will be ahead of the country that has not lost a single screw in the last fifty years — except the "loose screws" of the leaders of that country! (applause).

These are irrefutable truths. And how to prevent the world from continuing in this march? How to prevent the defeat of imperialism? Only one formula: war, war of extermination, destruction of those countries that are advancing; this is a philosophy of those who know they are beaten, because they have only to calculate, they have only to add and subtract. In addition, imperialism now has competition of its own allies, the other colonialist countries, the other imperialist countries, competing among themselves, fighting for a market every day poorer, and every day more weakened by their own contradictions.

That's why all you have to do is to think logically and you will soon understand why the enemies of the advancement of Humanity must necessarily fail, and why they must go somewhere else with their falsehoods and their gold philosophy; let them go away with their inhuman methods, their hunger and misery systems, let them, let them go their way and stop taking part in the history of Humanity; let them go and take oblivious refuge right where they belong: in the past!

Humanity advances; scarcely a century ago slaves were recruited in the African Continent, but no slaves are taken out of Africa today; less than a century ago long strings of slaves were shipped out from Asia, but that does not happen anymore.

Humanity advances; Humanity is breaking the chains of slavery; Humanity marches on its road to Justice; the World advances, and in the end, what else could happen if it is not a final, absolute victory of the peoples? What can possibly be the final outcome of these struggles if it is not the absolute liberation of all colonies? What else could possibly be the final result but the full sovereignty of the manacled nations, the economic independence of all nations, the dev-

elopment of their natural resources and cultures? (applause). The end cannot be a return to slavery, to the colonies; to foreign economic domination.

And colonialists cannot teach anything to Humanity; the imperialists cannot teach it anything either. Those who carry on their consciences the sufferings of millions of enslaved men are not qualified to speak of the future; those who have on their consciences the history of a continent like the African Continent, from which they have kidnapped millions of men and have sold them as if they were beasts (applause); Humanity cannot be taught anything by those who sold the natives of Asia; Humanity cannot be taught anything by those who have deliberately kept Latin America in backwardness and hunger; Kennedy cannot teach anything to Humanity. Only peoples like ours can teach Humanity anything, or like the Chinese people, or the Czech people, or the Socialist peoples (applause); Humanity can be shown a thing or two by the Egyptian people, or the Indonesian people, or the people of the Congo, the brave people that is fighting right now under their nationalist and revolutionary leaders; Humanity can be taught things, but only by the people that have broken their chains; but Humanity cannot be taught anything by those who have forged for centuries the chains with which so many peoples have been enslaved.

And now, to bring this talk to a close.. (Cries of No!), I am going to refer, very friendly, to a fresh episode which speaks volumes of that "alliance for progress", the civilized alliance for progress of which those gentlemen talk so much! The fact is that on this day and hour, in a country devoted to hard work and to minding its own business, a country that is not aware of being at war with anybody, in the second largest city of Cuba, and in the middle of the night, a warship has entered the port and bombarded a local industrial plant. It is something extraordinary.

I don't know how the World has reacted to this news, but the truth is that it is really incredible! And it only shows the effrontery of the imperialists, the impudency of the men who run the United States, to think that our country can be so cowardly and criminally attacked; that a city of a nation of this Continent, and an industry of a Nation of this Continent, just when so much talk is going on about continental security, while it is being said that Cuba constitutes a danger and a threat to the security of our Continent, a warship, delivered to the counter-revolutionists by the only one who could possibly deliver it to them, which means that it was delivered to them by the Government of the United States (Cries), and coming from the only bases from which it could possibly come, that is to say, from the bases organized for the counter-revolutionists by the Gov-

ernment of the United States (Cries), has actually carried this amazingly scandalous deed, which would be the source of widespread scandal and would justify the unanimous indignant protest of the entire Continent were it not for the fact that it has already become a law in this part of the World that we Cubans are condemned to see hundreds of workers murdered in our ports, and to see our sugar cane plantations burnt to cinders, and to see our air space constantly violated, and shipment after shipment of explosives smuggled in for the saboteurs of our plants and factories; it should be more than sufficient cause for the whole of America to rise indignantly if the imperialists had not made it a law of this Continent their right to violate our territory, the right to massacre our workers, the right to murder our children, to burn our sugar cane plantations and, now, the right to destroy our plants, our work centers with their gun fire.

That is what we have witnessed today. Now, what does that mean? That the aggression is being intensified, that the effrontery of the enemies of our country is becoming more and more shamefaced, and that just as their planes come now to drop arms and ammunition, or to drop printed propaganda, nobody can feel sure that they will not come one of these days to drop bombs on us.

Just as they bombarded an industrial plant today, and murdered a seaman and wounded a militiaman, is it or is it not true that just as in the worst times of piracy and filibustering when those sanguinary bandits looted and plundered the cities and towns of our Island, those same cities and towns are now exposed, on this day and age, to the attacks of pirate aircraft and pirate ships, obviously organized by the Central Intelligence Agency of the Yankees? Because the truth is that everybody knows that it was they who have placed those deadly weapons in the hands of those murderers, and have given them planes and ships. And our little nation is incessantly harassed and vexed by those who, having failed in their counter-revolutionary campaigns, having failed with their bands of mercenaries, having failed in their plans of territorial expansion, having failed with their economic aggressions, seeing that the Revolution stands firm and unyielding, seeing that the Revolution cannot be stopped and keeps on its victorious march, get exasperated, become desperate, and want to wreck our industries with their heavy artillery and their bombs!

This deed ought to serve to teach the American continent what the imperialists are capable of doing; the degree of impudency and criminality to which they are capable of going; their absolute contempt for the lives of the people of other nations. Right here we have one of the bullets shot against a Crude Oil Refinery in Santiago de Cuba, a 57 milimeter cannon projectile, made in U.S.A.... (Cries).

And we ask ourselves if our country is going to keep on being victimized by those attacks, which have become fiercer since that

new gentleman is there. Really we don't know the answer to that one; but we must have our minds and our courage duly prepared for outrages like this, and for much worse ones too. If they wage a war against us, we will resist that war; if they insist on subjecting us to these acts of vandalism and piracy for many years, which do not happen anywhere else, only in Cuba, by virtue of the imperial law, if we have to start building Morro Castles and fortresses at all our ports we shall build them (Applause); if we have to defend ourselves against those treacherous attacks, we shall do so; we shall defend our country against all physical aggressions just as we are defending ourselves against their economic aggressions!

That is why I was telling you when I started this talk that we must temper our minds and our hearts for the sacrifice. And I say this because we must not permit the penetration in the minds of the people of the evil influence of those affected by the Revolution, their complaints and lamentations. We must be ready for everything!

We would not be a great people, would not be worthy of the work we are doing, would not be the standard bearers of the Revolution of Latin America, if we were not thoroughly tempered, as other peoples have been, though we have not had a chance to prove it yet; because there are some here who complain when they cannot see a picture by Gary Cooper; and complain when some utterly unnecessary article can't be found in the stores. That is why we must do away with complaints, we must eliminate them from our midst. When a nation has to live mobilized, ready for war, as ours has to be, when a country has to live under the constant threat in which we live, that nation has to make up its mind to do what a great people must do when its territory and its plants, its cities and its countryside, are liable to be attacked, bombed and bombarded at any moment, when its workers are exposed to extermination at any moment. The ideas of the peoples when they are at war, the idea of the peasants on the Sierra Maestra range, the idea of our own soldiers on the Sierra Maestra range.

Let's not allow ourselves to miss anything. Furthermore, we ought to, we must be prepared to use our intelligence and our talents to solve our own problems, we must oppose certain uncivil manifestations we have been noticing.

When anything is said about the scarcity of a given article everybody rushes to buy that article and produces an artificial scarcity, because of the hoarders of that article, those who want to hide it away so as to have more for themselves. That is what has happened with some articles, soap among them, the "FAB" powder among them. Now, if a certain article has to be scarce, well, let it be scarce if it must, but not because a bunch of speculators hoard it to sell it

for more money (Applause). The people ought to be particularly interested in deterring such activities, and all peace officers, all public order agents ought to cooperate with the people to put an end to such activities. In the old times we had the speculation of the wholesalers, of the big dealers. And if we got rid of those, how can we stand now for a few people who go about buying those articles to sell them later on the market at a profit. That illicit traffic with essential articles must be eradicated. (Applause).

There is a plague of people who run chasing the truck and virtually assault the grocery stores. That sort of exhibition should not be permitted here; if something is lacking, let it be lacking, but those uncivil displays should not happen here, the people should not permit speculation to show its ugly nose through that crack. We have done away with the large scale speculation of the big agiotists, and now should not permit the speculation of those people who, acting crookedly, go about conniving to rob the people (applause).

Those are manifestations of incivility, of dishonesty, of lack of conscience, which the people ought to prevent.

Other things have happened, which have been the cause of complaints which we have heard about the places where the buses stop. An investigation of that problem, we have been informed by the fellows who are in charge of transports, who are intimately familiar with their operation, have reported that the trouble lays on the scarcity of repair parts and the wear and tear of the busses. That it is not a measure adopted at the whim of anybody, but something that was necessary in order to be able to live through the period of crisis of spare parts brought about by the embargo placed on them by the United States Government, because many of those machines are American made, and the parts in stock must be carefully handled so that they will last as long as possible. Perhaps what our 'bus friends did wrong was that they failed to explain these reasons to the public.

We believe that people are willing to do their utmost. Only they have to be told why they must do it. So it should be a standard rule for all of us not to issue an order without explaining why; it should be a general rule for all Government officers to work always with the people, explain everything to the people, because we are sure that the people will always understand and will always cooperate; the true people, the people that defends the Revolution as something of their own, those who know that the stumblings of the Revolution are their own stumblings, that the prestige of the Revolution is their own prestige, that the victory of the Revolution is their own victory, and that the defects of the Revolution are their own defects (applause). So we should always seek and find practical solutions for all problems, in all activities, including when we are forced to adopt measures such as those taken to discourage saboteurs.

Some work centers were forced to "shake the tree". That was because of certain acts of sabotage; yet, we happen to know that their own labor leaders are considering the possibility of a careful review of all cases, so as to make good any injustice unwillingly committed in this respect.

The enemies of the Revolution do have, in very few cases of course, certain contacts in certain labor sectors. The war against saboteurs should be, first of all, a matter of vigilance, of watchfulness by the workers themselves, of effort to make them see the truth. It is very sad to see a workman serving the cause of the exploiters, taking the side of the monopolies; to see a poor man enlist in the forces of his natural enemies, of those who have always exploited him.

It is true that there are certain minds that cannot be changed; there are brains that are so conditioned and so corrupt that they cannot be saved. But within our labor groups our struggle should be for the conquest of every worker for the Revolution, because unless it happens to be one of those irretrievable brains, unless it is one of those corrupt brains, that worker has to understand his own interests, has to understand and realize the fairness of the cause that defends the worker. We have to fight against the counter-revolutionists and the saboteurs with revolutionary vigilance and revolutionary work (Applause). Whenever a worker, because of his attitude, is believed to be unsafe in a key position or within an industry he should be transferred to some other position, and if that is unfeasible, then he ought to be replaced on that job. However, the Revolution proclaims the right and the duty to work of those who have been discharged from the service. To us, even those fellows are entitled to a chance to work, not where they can do harm, but at some other place, in a plant or in the fields.

The Revolution proclaims the right of every citizen to work, and the Revolution is under the obligation to protect itself against saboteurs; but it should protect itself without failing to adhere to that principle: only those who are inveterate loafers do not work here, only the mercenaries (Applause), because whoever wants to rectify, to change his ways, and to work, has work, has a job; because the Revolution proposes to see that everybody can exercise that right, the most sacred of the rights of every citizen, the right to work!

And to keep the Revolution from having to take drastic steps we have to intensify our vigilance on the job, to increase our revolutionary work, to become, each one of us, a soldier of the Revolution, a guard of the Revolution, wherever we may happen to be, at the job, in school, anywhere!

When we were speaking today someone cried that we should "purge the schools". Well, we cannot "purge our schools"; on the contrary, what we want is to make changes in the direction of the schools; we can, and must, adopt whatever measures may be necessary to make certain that nobody can make a counter-revolutionist out of any youth or any child (Applause). Yet, the Revolution cannot purge the schools because the Revolution is under the obligation to educate, to teach and to train the youth of the country. So, how can we permit a young intelligence to go to waste? —How can we stand by and see how a young boy or a young girl is led through anti-patriotic roads? How can we abandon him to his fortune, or misfortune? What do those children believe? They believe in the lies with which they have been saturated; they believe the stories, false all of them, fabricated by our enemies, which they have been repeating day after day against the Revolution.

Just as a child who has a revolutionary teacher can be a properly guided child in all matters concerning his country, a child who has to listen to a counter-revolutionist can very well have his mind damaged beyond possible repair. And yet, that will not be his fault. Do you know who will be to blame after all? Yes, we, we will be responsible, for permitting fresh undeveloped intellects to be molded by criminal hands into counter-revolutionists (applause). It would certainly be our own fault if that should happen!

And children should always be our first consideration. And we are the first to regret the condition of many of those children who used to be enthusiastic about the things of the Revolution, who were fans of the Revolution and who have been sent to foreign lands by their own parents. We think of the poor luck of those children, who have been taken out of the atmosphere of fairy stories and falsehoods in which they had been living and have been sent to a foreign country.

What will become of those children? What will become of the children of those who were blinded by ambition and went to live up North? Those children are, in reality, victims of their own parents. That is why we must help the Country's children, and you may rest assured that at the proper time the Revolutionary Government will take whatever steps may be considered most beneficial, because the Revolution is not going to be stopped. Those who believe that their acts of piracy, their aggressions, their threats and terror are going to stop, to hold back the Revolution, are utterly mistaken. They can't stop the Revolution; the only thing they can do is to radicalize the Revolution; that is, about all they will be able to get is just a deeper reaching revolution.

The Revolution is going to keep advancing, victoriously and unswervingly With whom? With the good ones, with the best, with

the stalwarts, with the real revolutionists, those go are going to temper their souls for a true Revolution; those who do not frighten easily, those who do not sell their consciences, those who won't surrender! With those we shall keep on marching ahead fighting, wrestling, struggling with our enemies, fighting against our own errors, rectifying them, trying to strengthen the Revolution in every possible way and by all possible means, always trying to gain more ground from the enemy, trying to defend our cause, to defend every man and woman, trying to convince, to persuade those who are susceptible of being convinced and persuaded; and those whom we can't convince or persuade we just neutralize them; and those whom we cannot convince or persuade or neutralize, those who keep combating us, those who wage war against us, we simply wage war on them (applause); the active counter-revolutionists, being the parasites they are, (Cries of "TO THE WALL") as the worms they are (Cries of TO THE WALL), as the servants of imperialism that they are (Cries of TO THE WALL), those have to be exterminated!

The Revolution has to be hard with its enemies; the Revolution has to be very tough with its enemies. I want to repeat here what we said here on January second. I remember that I said that the Revolution was a fight to death between the interests of the people and the interests of the anti-people, between the revolutionists and the counter-revolutionists. And if the Revolution does not annihilate the counter-revolution the counter-revolution will surely annihilate the Revolution.

But the counter-revolution would not have any strength here, it would be extremely weak; the only strength on which the counter-revolution is relying is the great strength of the empire, the enormous might of the powerful foreigner; that is their only strength. That is what encourages them and makes them bolder. Because they get from their foreign friends, they get the explosives, the arms, the pirate planes, and now pirate ships too. That is the only reason, the only strength on which the counter-revolution can count, the outside help, the power of the enemies of our country, the enemies of the Nation!

That is why, because we are fighting against powerful enemies, and because the counter-revolutionists are agents of that enemy and are commanded by that enemy, we must necessarily be ruthless and implacable with them, to be tough, to be inexorable with them. (Applause).

The doors of the Revolution have been open to all. Nobody has been denied the right to serve his country. We have to be very tough against those who become the enemies of their own country and sell their souls to the enemies of their country. We have not denied to

anybody not even the right to live, even to live with certain degree of comfort, we have not denied that, even to the exploiters of the people. That is the reason why we have to be tough with those who, ignoring the generosity of the Revolution, join the foreign enemy in a futile attempt to come back and exploit the people once more.

We were generous even with the petty politicians; we let by-gones be by-gones. The sins committed before the tenth of March were not taken into account; and yet, we see the recurrent sinners who, true to form, crossed the line to join the imperialist enemy. We have to be tough. We have to be very tough and inexorable with those recurrent criminals who have crossed the line to the imperialist enemy. We have seen how terrorists and murderers have become bolder and bolder. The Revolution had even discontinued the Revolutionary Courts and had discarded the death penalty.

This is enough to prove how the Revolution has acted, to show what the designs of the Revolution have been. However, the Revolution has been forced to take action against those who murder our workmen, and murder our children, and destroy our factories, those who kill and maim honest workers, just because they are wearing the blue shirt of the militia, which is not the shirt of a mercenary but the shirt of a workman, who without getting any pay for the hours he has to spend protecting our plants stick to their posts and actually protect them to their death! (Applause).

The torturers, the executioners, the terrorists, have forced the Revolution, much to our regret, to establish the revolutionary courts and severe penalties, and we are really sorry to have to adopt such measures, but it is not the Revolution's fault, it is the counter-revolution's fault, it is the fault of the imperialists, of the lackeys who insist on coming back and bring death and distress with them, to take more lives, kill more people.

And what do they want? Do they want us to cross our arms and just watch them do their loathsome work? So that the streets would be found at dawn strewn with corpses and the students would be tortured and maimed? No. What did that want? Did they want the Revolution to cross its arms so that the murderers and the crooks could come back? No. The workers, the students, the peasants, the people, who were first hand witnesses to the past of horror and fear, because today the people who are afraid are the traitors; today the ones who have to be worried are the conspirators and the terrorists, but the workman who works, the student who studies, the peasant who tills the land, the hard working people, the fighters, who saw that horrible past with their own eyes, a past when a man was murdered because he was a student, or a workman or a peasant,

the people who were witnesses to that past, cannot possibly cross their arms and stand on the sidelines.

Of course, we know exactly who is pulling the strings, who is moving those criminals. They are pulled and moved by Yankee hands, just like the hands that forged the tyranny and kept it in power; Yankee were the bullets and the bombs with which so many lives were reaped; Yankee were the explosives and Yankee were the agents who prepared and consummated the sabotage of the steamer La Coubre; and the explosives with which stores have been damaged and schools have been blown up and factories have been wrecked; Yankee are the planes that have been violating our territorial rights; Yankee are the ships that commit acts of piracy against our cities; and the mercenaries who are preparing to invade Cuba are trained by Yankee officers; and our economy was colonized by Yankee hands; and the Platt Amendment was imposed on us by the Yankees and our Army of Liberation was prevented from winning the War of Independence by Yankee hands (Applause).

And those hands want to come back, and those who serve those hands and are willing to act as tentacles to carry out the orders the enemies of the country, of the men who prevented the successful culmination in the past, who prevented the victory of the people; against those we have to be very tough and relentless.

Outside of that, we will see, we will see if those violations continue, if those piratical assaults keep on happening, we will see if they keep the country living in a constant state of war, of aggression of threat of destruction, we will see. Because the peoples of America will react and will teach a lesson to the enemies of our people.

We are ready and more than willing to resist here, and nobody doubts that we will resist; we are prepared to stand firm right here and nobody doubts that either; we are prepared and anxious to advance, and nobody can doubt that. Our Revolution shall march on, and nobody doubts it for a second. (Applause).

We are going to defend ourselves and we know how to do it, all right. We are going to mobilize whatever resources may be necessary to defend ourselves; and in the face of hostility and aggression we will do just what we said a while ago: we will continue arming ourselves, we will keep on buying arms and ammunition, we will keep on bringing in piles and piles of arms of all sorts and descriptions! (Applause).

And if they bother us with filibustering ships, we shall buy ships to pursue those filibustering ships (Applause); and if they keep on sending pirate planes, we will go out and buy planes to rout those pirates! (Applause); and if they promote a revolution against us, then we will promote a revolution against each of the governments

that promote revolutions against us! (Applause). And we shall arm and prepare ourselves, be sure of that!

And furthermore, let the rats and the mercenaries, the criminals of yesterday and the imperialists of today, let them know that we are not alone. (Ovation). And let them watch their step lest their repeated failures will lead them to repeated stupidities!

Now it seems that they don't even dream of being able to establish a little government here and are thinking of establishing it in exile! (Laughs). That's all very good; let them establish a government in exile whenever the Yankees say so. In exchange we will establish here any governments in exile, the first of which will be the Free Puerto Rico Government in exile! (Applause). And as soon as the imperialists establish a counter-revolutionary government in exile we are going to form many revolutionary governments in exile! (Heavy applause).

And I ask: What happens? Why have not they dared to land? Just what happens? Is it that they know that they cannot take a single little piece of the national territory? Or is it that they know that they won't last long wherever they may finally land? So, sheer desperation leads them to form a government in exile. Very well! Let us see if they do it. Just let them remember that every right they take upon themselves here in this Continent, corresponds to a right to which we feel entitled right here in this Continent! (Applause). Let them know that we are not in the least afraid of the imperialist, no fear at all (Applause); and we hope the imperialist will realize that we will answer deed for deed, that the Revolution does not shrink back, does not fear them.

Now, let us see what they answer before the ONU to Cuba's charges; let us see what they have to say about the act of piracy perpetrated today; we will see what they have to say for themselves. They are so impudent that they don't say anything! (Laughs).

Yes, we remember when we were there at the ONU, that we told a few things to the Delegate of the United States and then sat down to wait and see what he was going to say; well, he simply did not say anything! They are so shameless that in the face of the truth they just keep mum, because the fact is that there is nothing easier than to unmask a delegate of imperialism and to tell him hundreds of truths for which he has no retort.

That's is the way they go through the World: from discredit to discredit from failure to failure, from ridicule to ridicule, without realizing that they only have one intelligent road to follow, so dumb they are (laughs), yes, so hopelessly stupid, that they don't see that the only logical way is just to leave Cuba in peace. They don't seem to realize that the more they keep bothering Cuba, and threatening

Cuba and illtreating Cuba, and attacking Cuba, the more fiercely and more determinedly will Cuba hit back to defend itself; and the more they try organize and promote counter-revolutions in Cuba, the more sympathy and admiration and devotion will be won for the Cuban Revolution throughout Latin America (Applause). If they could realize that, they would do the only intelligent thing they can possibly do. But they are not intelligent, they are stupid, they are dumb and, consequently, it is only logical for them to do stupid things.

In the mean time, the only thing to do is to keep on going, to continue, to march on, ever certain of one thing: Victory! Final Victory!

That victory was much farther off in other days; it was much farther that day when, while our dear friend Jose Antonio was being murdered in Havana, other comrades of the "Directorio Revolucionario" sacrificed their lives. We counted our men that day. March 13th, and do you know how many were there? Twelve, yes, just twelve! And that was only four years ago! (Applause).

And today we are twelve times half a million (Laughs); today we have tens of thousands of twelve rifles platoons (Applause); and today we have a people and the Revolution is no longer a promise but a glorious accomplishment. And what was it that the Revolution promised? Could anybody accuse the Revolution of having reneged, having fallen down on a single promise? (Cries of No, No!). And if the principal promises have been fulfilled what is there to be done? Well, make fresh promises. And when those new promises have been fulfilled, what shall we do? Why, make still more promises, and fulfill them!

That is what is happening. The Revolution has fulfilled its first promises, and now the Revolution is making new promises, the Revolution proposes to fulfill the platform approved by a million souls in that gigantic Assembly of the People.

What can be said against that by those who go with their tears and their laments to the FBI and the Central Intelligence Service and other intelligence agencies of the non-intelligent? Those who go weeping to the Pentagon, what have they to say about this? What is their moral justification to combat us? What can be the reason they will invoke? None; at all. The only reason they could name would be the reasons given by all traitors, by all cowards, by all irresolute, timid, useless poor devils; the reasons invoked by all deserters!

So, let us march on, always forward without looking back! That is what we have to do. Always determined, always ready to face sacrifices! So far our sacrifices have been but a few, and we have

the courage and the temper to withstand sacrifices a thousand times greater, to make sure that the principles advocated by the Revolution will win, that final victory will be ours, and will stay that way!

FATHERLAND OR DEATH! WE SHALL WIN!
(OVATION).

EDITORIAL EN MARCHA
APARTADO POSTAL 6386.
LA HABANA, CUBA.

STAT

the **ROLE**
of **FOREIGN AID** *in the*
DEVELOPMENT
of **CUBA**

LECTURES ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

**THE ROLE OF FOREIGN AID IN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF CUBA**

*by Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara,
delivered at the Min-Far Theater
on March 9, 1961, Year of Education*

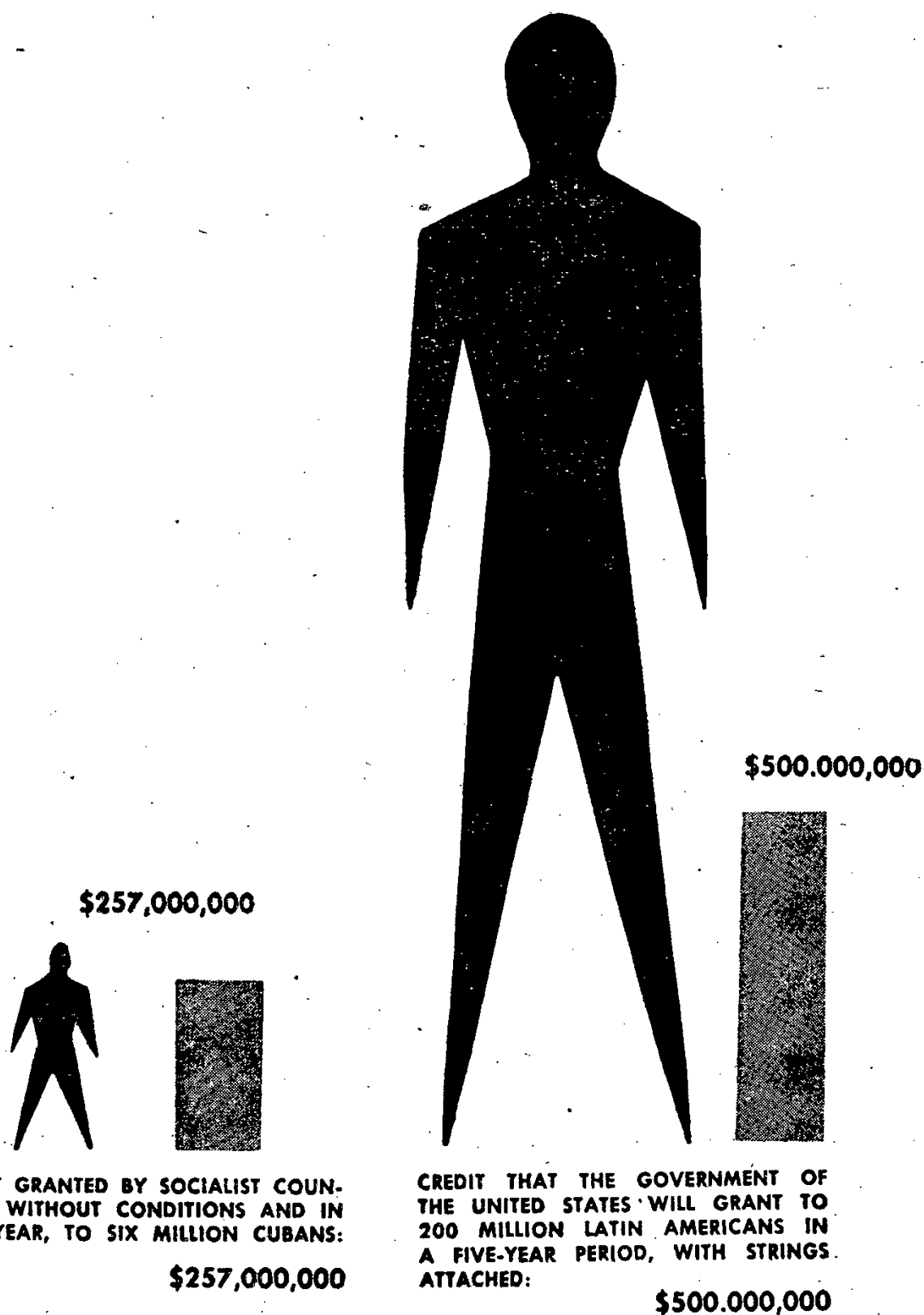
EDITORIAL EN MARCHA

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1962

AÑO DE LA PLANIFICACION



Without the foreign aid of friendly countries —fundamentally and almost exclusively the credit and other sorts of aid offered by the Socialist nations—, we would not have been able to carry forward this process of development that we began with the victory of the Revolution. That is, this present stage of the Revolution is conditioned by the fact that Cuba is firmly supported by a group of nations that possess the most powerful means of destruction ever known in history, which they are ready to put at the service of Cuba in case our country is invaded.

I point this out because politics and economics can never be separated, they are always closely linked, and the final theme of this cycle of lectures, which comrade Dorticós will be in charge of, will explain, precisely, the intimate connection between politics and economics, and the relationship that exists between political and economic changes in a given regime.

During 1960, and more precisely after February 13, when the Vice Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Anastas Mikoyan, signed a trade and payment agreement and a long term loan with Cuba, trade relations with all Socialist countries quickly developed, and long term loans were obtained from eight of them, which had a total value of 257 million pesos, that is, 257 million dollars.

It would be fitting to analyze this figure: the Cuban Revolution receives credits for a total value of 257 million dollars in one year, whereas the United States offers Latin America 500 million dollars in credit at a high rate of interest, and controlled at that, during a five-year period. That is, that whereas we may use the Socialist credit in behalf of our industrial development in any manner we believe best, the United States gives credit to Latin America in such a manner that the credit is only received if it is invested in a way that the United States accepts or believes convenient. That is the difference between colonial credit and a credit promoting development.

But further, the most remarkable difference is that six million

CREDIT GRANTED TO CUBA BY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND TRADE EXCHANGE WITH THESE COUNTRIES

CREDIT GRANTED:

Soviet Union	\$ 100.000,000
People's China	60.000,000
Czechoslovakia	40.000,000
Rumania	15.000,000
Hungary	15.000,000
Poland	12.000,000
German Democratic Republic	10.000,000
Bulgary	5.000,000
TOTAL	\$ 257.000,000

VOLUME OF TRADE EXCHANGE:

With the Soviet Union	\$ 270.000,000
With People's China	117.000,000
With Czechoslovakia	30.000,000
With the German Democratic Republic	25.000,000
With Poland	22.000,000
With Rumania	11.000,000
With Hungary	10.000,000
With Bulgaria	7.000,000

people receive credits for a value of 257 million dollars, while 200 million people in America get the offer of 500 million dollars. This shows how relations with Socialist countries allow Cuba to develop her industry at the rate we are developing it.

A country may always develop, may always march forward, if it applies the right policies, but great rates of development cannot be attained with the sole resources of a so-called under-developed country, as ours was: foreign aid is necessary to do so at a high rate of development.

The aid from Socialist countries is divided in the following manner: 100 millions from the Soviet Union, as a first step, because shortly we will sign new credits with the Soviet Union to develop mainly nickel, which is already approved, and may be considered a fact, as well as some other facets of our industry such as heavy chemistry, fertilizer chemistry, and the paper industry. China lends us 60 million dollars; Czechoslovakia, 40 millions; Rumania, 15 millions; Hungary, 15 millions; Poland, 12 millions; Bulgaria, 5 millions; and the German Democratic Republic, 10 millions.

It is very interesting to study how these credits are distributed; the basis for the industrialization of the country is the iron and steel industry. Under the present conditions of the modern world, there can be no industrialization without an iron and steel industry; the Soviet Union takes care of our iron industry, and will develop by 1965, a production capacity of some 500 thousand metric tons a year, and by 1970 we will develop factories capable of producing 1 million 700 thousand tons a year.

To give an idea of what that means, let us mention that at the present time Cuba produces 30 thousand tons of steel of the lowest quality, that is, steel bars for construction, which require a minimum amount of effort and technique, and besides we have to buy pig iron from other countries in order to process it here. The factories purchased from the Soviet Union allow us to do the complete processing of our iron ore, convert it into its first stage, pig iron, and then into the different types of steel. One may begin to industrialize when there is steel, it is very difficult before that, because steel is the basis for the whole process of development, and it is difficult to obtain, and further it is very expensive to launch a process of development without a real and national production of steel. Steel is the basis, and it has been contracted for with the Soviet Union, but further there is what in economic language is called a "bottleneck," that is, a point where the whole comprehensive planned process of development is paralyzed, preventing the completion of the process. In all

underdeveloped countries the bottleneck is electricity. One may advance and progress up to the point where there is a lack of electricity. The use of electricity may be rationalized, for example, Cuba is a country where electricity is very badly utilized; the consumption of electricity may be improved, but if new sources of electric power production are not created, the country is inevitably limited in its process of development.

To give you an idea (many of these figures that we are handling are new to you, that is why we have to use comparisons at each step), I have already told you that by 1965 Cuba will be producing more than 500 thousand tons of steel, and that at the present time there is a production of only 30 thousand tons. There was sufficient electricity in Cuba for the type of country without many industries that we used to know. There was an installed capacity of about 650 thousand kilowatts; well then, during the next six years we will make contracts with Socialist countries for approximately the same quantity, that is, in six years we will double the installed power capacity, but we will accomplish more than doubling it. Why? Because the installed capacity is one thing and the way that installed capacity is used is another; for instance, you know about the boilers in Talla Piedra, or in Melones, that generate electricity; they are obsolete machinery has to be moved; in mountainous countries it is thousand kilowatts, that is, at a given moment, when gauged, they may produce 600 thousand kilowatts, but when the machines are not in operation they don't generate power, and if at the end of a year one counts the number of hours in which electric power was generated, one will realize that the degree of efficiency is very low, because the machines do not make the best use of the steam they create, that is, the real figure of production is quite inferior to the capacity to generate power.

The new factories, new in every sense of the word, with a modern technology, allow a much more rational use of the power, and increase to a great degree the production of electricity. With those two bases built, we can then get started on the road to industrialization: on one side, steel, on the other, electric power. But all these things are linked, are united, one to the other; we may buy the machinery that will generate electric power, but that machinery has to be moved; in mountainous countries it is moved by the current of great rivers, dams are built, generators are installed, and consequently they obtain very cheap electric power. In countries that have their own fuel, as coal or oil, it is moved by those fuels; we have to make an additional effort, because we have to bring in all the fuel to move everything that

it may be necessary to move with oil in Cuba, and the production of Cuba itself is only about half of one percent of our needs, that is, it is practically nonexistent, all the rest has to be imported.

You are familiar to a great extent with the history of our relations with the great foreign monopolies, the threats that were directed against us, the attack of the foreign companies, and how the Soviet Union is now solving the supply of oil. Oil is also a vital point; in our case it is the necessary fuel; in other countries the main thing is coal or the direct electric power generated by great waterfalls; here in Cuba the thing is oil. Now, this oil has to be processed, then also we have to build the new refineries, because the needs of the country increase. There are four refineries in the country now, the one that is named after Níco López, that before used to belong partly to Standard Oil and partly to Shell; the one at Santiago de Cuba; the Texaco refinery, and a small one at Cabaiguán. All those refineries may process a little over 90 thousand barrels a day, but we have to increase our capacity even more, and thus we have also contracted for a new refinery from the Soviet Union, which will probably be installed in Oriente province in the new industrial zone that will be developed near Nipe Bay in the vicinity of Nicaro, where the nickel factory is, and also the "Felton," an iron mine, an iron producing plant furnished with furnaces. That is, the Soviet Union will also take care of the supply and processing of oil.

Once the basic requirements are satisfied, Cuba must then dedicate herself to covering the great lines of development, the following lines. One of the most important is the automotive industry, which will allow us to manufacture trucks, to manufacture tractors, all kinds of motors, and also, automobiles, which are not so important. I would like to tell you that, in the Socialist countries we have visited, the proportion of trucks to automobiles is three, four or five to one, whereas here the opposite is true; that is the distinguishing trait of a country in development. Industrial countries need a lot of trucks, a lot of heavy equipment; colonial and semicolonial countries, countries that are also wealthy, as Cuba, have a lot of automobiles belonging to people who only use them to travel around or go to work.

We have not given much importance to automobiles, we have insisted more on tractors; the tractor and automotive plants, with trucks in the first place, will all come from Czechoslovakia; Czechoslovakia gave us a 40 million dollar loan to develop this line of production, and in 1965 we will already be in the position to start the new line of production, which will then be automobiles, that is, from now till 1965 we will develop the most impor-

tant lines: trucks, tractors, vehicles, fixed engines for water pumping, for irrigation, and then we will proceed to the next stage, which is the production of automobiles. The technological process of automobiles is more complicated, it requires finer parts, a more skilled worker, who has to be trained during those five years.

The problem of skilled labor is a serious problem; when a rhythm of development as rapid as ours is begun, the worker necessarily lags behind plans. Once again a sort of bottleneck is created, because there is no one to do the work, or it is done badly. In that sense we have also received aid from the Socialist countries, which is greatly comprehensive, and encompasses all the aspects of technical assistance. Several plants will come from various countries to teach the students directly, plants where the students will begin to work and create, that is, factory-schools; other plants also which will only be for training, the professors will come here to teach the students; and finally, students of all kinds will go to Socialist nations to acquire skills. These trips to Socialist countries are of different types; for instance, when a factory is bought, it is provided for that a number of technicians or workers will go to the country where the plant is purchased to acquire the necessary skills, so that when the plant begins to function the workers and the technicians will be here already; it is practically a commercial transaction, where both the plant and the schooling are acquired.

Now, there are also scholarships given to workers and students, to acquire a higher degree of knowledge; the scholarships have been as comprehensive as we asked for, we didn't ask for more comprehensive scholarships because we weren't sure of our capacity to send people to very distant regions, to inhospitable climates, and for long periods of time; the list is really very extensive; three hundred engineers, one hundred scientific workers and four hundred workers and technicians will be trained in the Soviet Union, a total of eight hundred people. What they call scientific work is a different field of activity which is not involved directly in production, for instance, agricultural biologists, that is, the scientists who do research to find new varieties of sugar cane in the laboratory; that kind of scientist has a fundamental importance, an importance that is not readily seen because his work is very slow, very patient, but whose achievements are worth millions and millions of pesos if a good job is done; that man has to be very conscientiously trained.

At the same time, we will also develop our Institutes here, which will train our future technicians, Cuban technicians trained here by Cuban professors, in a Cuban environment; but today we

**BASIC INDUSTRIES FOR
INDUSTRIALIZATION THAT
WILL BE ESTABLISHED IN CUBA**



BY THE SOVIET UNION:

**iron and steel plants
electric power plants
oil refineries**

BY CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

**automotive industry,
for the production of tractors,
trucks, automobiles, etc.**

cannot aim at perfection; and so they go directly to friendly countries for training. All the countries have participated in this effort to train our people. The total is 785 engineers, 225 scientific workers... that is, 1,000 students and 1,700 workers and technicians who will go for a shorter period of time, in total, 2,700 engineering students, students of other scientific fields, workers and technicians.

It is a great number of people, let it be enough to tell you that in order to find the 1,000 students who had the sufficient qualifications to go on such a long trip we have had many difficulties; as I have told you, it is not easy to send a young man to an unknown country for 5 or 6 years; countries, also, about which there was, until very recently, a series of prejudices that the press had spread among us, forcing us to interpret the facts as they wanted us to see them.

But the aid doesn't stop here; that is just the training of the technicians over there, we have also signed contracts for 227 technicians from the Soviet Union, 60 from Czechoslovakia, and from all other countries, Poland, Hungary, China, Rumania, Bulgaria, up to a total of 339, to come this year and work in different branches of industry. That is 339 highly skilled technicians from Socialist countries who in a few months will be working in Cuba; right now there are about 150 here.

The fields of activity of these people cover practically all Cuban industry. We have fundamentally given great importance to mineral prospecting, that is, to the study of all our national territory, to see what kind of minerals there are in it and study how we can develop them; it is also a slow, non-spectacular task: industrial tasks are not as spectacular as agricultural tasks, results cannot be achieved in such a short length of time, and many more technicians are required to do it.

The work of these Soviet comrades, many of whom are here already, is not easily noticed; yet, they are already in the fields of Cuba doing the necessary research to extract the minerals. This is the first long stage, which needs the complement of a lot of scientific instruments, and then comes the stage of the exploitation of the mineral, and also the development of the old mines that we have here. You know that the El Cobre mine was the first copper mine in America and it is still in production—and good benefits may still be gotten from it—, but it must be done in a technical manner, and in truth, there is not the least technique in Cuba, except in the Matahambre mine, which is more rationally exploited. We have, then, a very extensive field where our Soviet comrades, aided by Czechs, have been working for

months; along with this there is the technological work to develop nickel production, which is our basic export mineral at the present time, and it is highly priced because it is a strategic mineral, strategic in the military and in the industrial sense; it is strategic in the military sense because the tips of all space rockets, whether they go on a scientific flight to explore the universe or to carry an atomic load, have nickel. The "cow-killing" rocket also carried nickel. (LAUGHTER).

Further, nickel is the necessary complement for the development of the chemical industry, because all containers to be filled with acid, made with what is called stainless steel, contain nickel; so that there we have an enormous source of wealth, that before was only used for the benefit of the Yankees.

It is good to point out the difference. There are two mines in exploitation, with their corresponding plants: the Nicaro, which is at Nipe Bay; and a little further to the east, between Nicaro and Baracoa, there is the Moa. The Moa mine had begun to operate a few months after the triumph of the Revolution, and it was never perfectly set up; the Nicaro paid some small taxes, the Moa mine was totally exempt from taxes; the Moa mine was a superimposition, a new Guantánamo placed in our territory, dedicated to extracting wealth and sending it to the United States, through one of our ports over which we had no jurisdiction.

It left behind only the wages it paid the 700 workers, which were not anything great anyhow, very inferior to the salaries they pay their own workers. The Nicaro mine was a little bit different, some taxes were paid, but in general it was the same thing as this other mine. The Soviet technicians came four months ago, they made a promise, which they are fulfilling to the last detail: to get the Nicaro mine to work at full scale, and also to buy all our production—if we wanted to sell it, because it was not a condition, it was simply an offer—besides developing new technological discoveries to renovate that plant, which is a little bit old from the point of view of technique, where there has been great progress (that plant is already twenty years old and is behind-the-times now). All that is being done.

The Moa plant, a lot more advanced, was finished a year and a half ago. The Soviet technicians promised to put it in operation this month of March. We are expecting it to begin operation in a few days, and in the month of June it will be going at full production; these are tentative figures, they may change from one month to another, but in general by the middle of the year a plant will be in operation that we thought would never

function; the Yankees thought they were the masters of technique and that if they didn't operate it no one could; the greatly developed Soviet technique has already mastered the plant and is preparing it for operation; the raw material has to be brought from a great distance, it is a complex mine, a complex factory, very modern, but very complex.

The Soviet success is a clear demonstration that the Yankees no longer control the technique of the world or anything of the sort; but also the most important thing is the form and the spirit in which the aid is given, and in which capital or capital goods are given for the development of a country. Socialist countries have offered us all they could give us, so that we could choose if we agreed: their technicians, their technical knowledge, and rates of interest that fluctuate between two percent and zero, as is the case of the People's Republic of China. The Yankees offer what they want at prices at least twice as high, without any control on the part of the State over private companies, and also at very high interests; that is, there is a complete difference between the two ways of acting. Even if we had maintained good relations with the United States, it would have been impossible, under the present Cuban conditions, to launch this process of industrialization with Yankee capital, it would have been absolutely impossible: their demands are of such a type that they necessarily imply either economic slavery or the simple refusal of the offer of capital. That is why those brother countries of America that have chosen the road of close friendship with the United States and who favor the investment of Yankee capital are necessarily condemned to either slavery or rebellion, to the rebellion of the peoples, because slavery can only be enforced until the people know their strength and they know that they can destroy their oppressors; that is why the situation in almost all those countries is very perilous. At the same time, the 500 millions they are offering now are to build things that could be done inside the country with no need for the investment of foreign money.

We don't need the loan of millions of dollars to build houses, because the houses are made here, the cement is made here, the steel bars are made here, we may import wood, but the frames are made here; perhaps we have to import some glass, some mesh, some other things, but it isn't worth-while to get the loan that would have to be paid in dollars, with foreign exchange, to build houses or highways. A country should do that with its own resources; what has to be gotten is credit for the machinery that will create wealth, things that will add value with their work,

such as factories where new things are created for the use of the people.

Such is our contract with the Socialist countries; no part of the 257 million pesos of the loan, or of the enormous quantity of money that circulates in the trade between both countries, is allotted to the purchase of houses or of luxury items: just simply machinery, at times complete factories (complete as regards the machinery, because we do the construction here), or individual machines to complete other industries. That is, the money that is invested comes to Cuba to create absolutely new wealth.

The list of all the factories that are going to be purchased is very long, they are more than a hundred, but we should also say that we are working intensely in another important field of mineral extraction and processing, the field of oil. I had told you that oil comes entirely from the Soviet Union, and that we produce from half to one percent of our own consumption. Well, then, the Cuban Institute of Petroleum and the Soviet technicians are working intensely to find oil. It may exist, we don't know where, but it may exist; oil is something where you take a gamble every time you dig a well to extract it. Yet, we hope that there are some good deposits; we don't know whether they will be enough for our needs, but they will relieve our situation anyhow, and will allow us to use the money to buy something else instead of fuel. In the field of sugar mills, our main wealth, Socialist countries can also help us greatly, although they produce a different type of sugar, from a special kind of beet, because they have new factories and because their organization of work allows them to save a lot of money. Some technicians are working here now, Czechoslovakian technicians, and in a few days a mission of ours will go over there to travel throughout their countries and buy entire sugar mills if necessary.

We have new ideas of what a sugar mill should be, how the sugar mill should be linked to a whole series of factories, in order to work all year round, and how we may increase the efficiency of the best sugar mills and gradually eliminate those that are too old or too small. It is a long task, very complex, because one has to take into account many factors, as for instance the number of people that are employed, but in this respect we can also count on important aid from Socialist countries.

There is one very important theme to be dealt with and which also expresses, in numbers, the radical change that has taken place in Cuba: foreign trade with the Socialist countries. You all remember the phrase where Martí said that the country

SCHOLARSHIPS GRANTED BY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO CUBAN STUDENTS, WORKERS AND TECHNICIANS

	For engineering students	For students in other fields	For workers and technicians
Soviet Union	300	100	400
Other Socialist Countries	485	125	1300
	785	225	1700

TECHNICIANS SENT BY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO AID CUBA'S DEVELOPMENT

From the Soviet Union	227
From Czechoslovakia	60
From People's China, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgary	339

that wishes to be a slave sells to only one country, and the country that wants to free itself trades with the whole world.

It is not that we wanted or didn't want to become slaves. We were slaves. Seventy-five percent of our foreign trade was with the United States alone, and we bought all items at the price of gold while selling our sugar at a better price than on the world market. With that cover-up of the higher price of sugar they had us hoaxed. Take for instance a practical example: the United States buys sugar at 5.25 cents a pound, it pays a higher price than the world market. Let us suppose that the world market price is at that time 3 cents a pound; that is, they buy the sugar for 5.25 cents while the world market price is 3 cents a pound. Then the United States sells rice, a great portion of the rice importation used to come from the United States; here we were producing a more or less substantial amount, about 40 percent of our consumption, but 60 percent came from the United States. That rice was paid for at 10 or 12 pesos a hundred-pound weight; that is, 5.25 cents on one hand, 12 pesos a hundred-pound weight on the other.

China, for example, buys our sugar at 4 cents a pound this year; not at 3 cents a pound, which is the world market price, but at four cents: naturally, the United States bought our sugar at 5.25 cents a pound, but the rice we buy from China costs 5 pesos a hundred-pound weight, that is, less than half that of the United States; as you may see --of course, the difference is not so sharp in all cases-- this is, in general, the explanation of why the United States bought our sugar at a higher price, because we were part of its internal market, and it controlled us here and then distributed its products and prevented any national production, because when some competitor raised his head here, it immediately defeated him in a price war. They had preferential customs tariffs, and no European products or very few could enter here; only the production of some Yankees and Cubans who had the courage to fight against Yankee power, in which case, generally, they were defeated or became agents of imperialism, which was very common. They did not fight any longer, but became importers instead, or they had their production and their importations, and thus, in that state of dependence, they became accomplices of imperialism, and at the same time received a share of its profits.

For instance, the Ariguanabo Textile Plant belonged to Hedges. Hedges had then three businesses: the textile production, the production of artificial fiber in Matanzas... for these

two he received credits from the State, he didn't spend his money; but besides, he was the representative of the United States firms, and was in charge of buying the cotton for the textile plants and also the fabrics for processing. He had another little business of his own, contraband; that is, the whole thing was linked together, and naturally, the Yankees were very pleased with that state of things. It is not only what a country spends in buying things from the United States, but also that the United States investments in Cuba returned again, as Hedges' money. Hedges' means of production were expropriated and he wasn't able to get them out, but all the money was in the United States; all the money they stole here they took to the United States. When they traveled, they traveled to the United States.

Then, Cuba was really a part of the United States territory, the dollar was safe here, because, if the worst came to the worst, it would remain here for a while, but from here it didn't go any place, it inevitably returned to the United States. Naturally, it was claimed that sugar was bought at 5.25 cents a pound, but after they paid the 5.25 cents, then the United States industrialists had their profit here, and that profit was exported back there—it was a free exchange. All that caused us to sell 75 percent of our production, to hold 75 percent of our trade with the United States, and we had practically no trade with the Socialist countries.

There is a table that clearly shows this situation and shows the violent changes that have taken place in such a short time in Cuba in order to adapt ourselves to the new conditions. In 1958, before the triumph of the Revolution, Cuba sold some sugar to the Soviet Union, for which the Soviet Union paid in dollars, but Cuba didn't buy anything in return. Simply, the Soviet Union needed sugar, it bought it from Cuba, nothing more; in 1958, for instance, Cuban imports from Socialist countries amounted to 1 million pesos; in 1960, our imports from all Socialist countries amounted to 136 million pesos, that is, from one year to the next it went from 1 million pesos to 136 million pesos, not only because of the contracts with the Soviet Union and China, but because we also had to intensify our trade to prevent the blockade that was already being hinted at in the United States.

For 1961, this year, trade is calculated to be 500 million pesos, that is, there has been a complete change from one extreme to the other, and today we trade mainly with the Socialist world, not with one country, not with the Soviet Union only, but with the Socialist world at large, with all the countries. Naturally,

with the Soviet Union, the greatest and strongest, we have an exchange of products for a total value of 270 million pesos; with China, 117 millions; with Czechoslovakia, 30 millions; with Germany, 25 millions; with Poland, 22 millions; with Hungary, 10 millions; Bulgaria, 7 millions. It adds up to 500 million pesos going and 500 million pesos coming, because in our trade system with Socialist countries no foreign exchange is used, the means of the exchange is the product itself. We supply the sugar and then bring back something they produce; that is how all the contracts have been made.

The work has been very difficult, more than you can imagine, because you would have had to be inside of the mechanism to know what it meant that even in Revolutionary days the mentality of Cuban businessmen, the mentality of Cuban executives, was channeled towards the efficiency of private enterprise, and how comfortable it was to phone Miami or cable New York and ask for some raw material that would get here in one or two days, that didn't even remain at the docks, but came in a freight-car, on the ferry, and went directly to the factory.

We have had to make changes, eliminate private enterprise in the import business, because it was a big hindrance; we have had to change our trade organization entirely and direct it towards Socialist countries. We have had to face the consequences, the goods don't get here after a two-day trip anymore; before, we didn't need storage room because the goods arrived immediately. Now it is necessary to make two-month trips, at times three-month trips, and we need to have big reserves against all contingents. Besides, these countries have a planned economy, and you have to place the orders at a certain time. You can't ask for your orders, as was the case with the United States, from one day to the next, because any businessman in the United States who got an order was pleased, because he always had more idle capacity around, ready to produce; in Socialist countries the industrial capacity is totally in production, so you have to plan the orders.

Nevertheless, in spite of the obstacles, in spite of the difficulties, we have managed to change the system entirely, and we have done it at a price that is difficult for you to appreciate, but I assure you that it has been very important. We have managed to change all our trade, while we changed our social system, without affecting even the least important habits of the Cuban people in the process... because there has not been a real lack of some items that are absolutely superfluous (we are still importing spare pieces for big automobiles), as happened

in all the countries of Europe when they began this change-over to a planned economy and into a people's economy where the owners of the means of production would be the people and not private capitalists or foreign monopolies.

The battle has been hard and constant, there have been complaints about the Bank Foreign Trade, some gaps have been found; I assure you, however, that a real feat has been achieved. Now a harder stage will come when, because of the blockade, we'll be missing some raw materials, not for soap, or anything of minor importance, regarding which production is normalized now, but raw materials without which some factories may be paralyzed, because our foresight has a limit, and the variety of products that it was necessary to import from Socialist countries was very extensive.

Further, because of a very special system, each subsidiary plant here in Cuba didn't have the exact specifications of the raw materials. For instance, lampblack; lampblack is used for many things, but if another substance is added, then it's called X-17, or any other name, and then that has to be imported from the United States, if we don't know what it's made of; Socialist countries have a different nomenclature, and it is very difficult to order it. That is why some factories have had to stop for some time, a month, fifteen days, but by the middle of this year we will have industrial production entirely normalized. All in all, we can be highly pleased at having gone through such a hard test with so few interruptions. It is one more proof of the vitality of the Cuban Revolution, and it is also a proof of the great solidarity of the whole world with the Cuban Revolution.

That is what makes this Revolution invincible and sets it as an example for other peoples, but that also creates a responsibility for us, which is that of being worthy of the example we have set. We cannot sit down and ask friendly countries to solve our problems, we have to improve constantly; one of the ways to improve is to acquire more skills, we have to modernize our production, and to acquire new skills, every one of us, a great amount of skill. The lack of technicians in Cuba is already noticeable today; a year ago engineers were selling insurance policies from door to door, and today we can't find any more engineers, and in about a year this lack will be really drastic, and then we'll have to bring them from somewhere, or improvise them, but an improvisation is never as good as a man with university experience, and work experience; that is why all of you have to begin thinking about studying and acquiring new skills within your

profession, whether you remain in your military profession, where you also have to acquire new skills, or within any civilian profession you choose, where each day there is greater need for more profound knowledge.

I have given you a very brief outlook of our relations with the Socialist world, of what this aid, given in such a rapid, effective and fraternal manner has meant for us, and what it will mean for national development. Cuba is going to become, from a country where there was nothing but sugar cane and, mainly, some small sugar mills that are not sugar industries in so far as modern technology is concerned, a really industrial country, a country that is going to build its own vehicles, its own machinery, machine-tools, that is going to build its own ships, and where, simultaneously, agriculture will develop at a dizzying speed.

All this is done, first of all, because of the will of the people, the union of the people, the correct leadership offered them by the Revolution, and, further, because of the fraternal aid of all these European countries, some of which have made great sacrifices to buy our sugar, even though it was in a small quantity, to prove their fraternity. Such is the case of Mongolia, a republic lost in the great immensity of Asia, which has frontiers with only the Soviet Union and China, which until a few years ago was a country of shepherds, and which has progressed immensely, but has no great industrial power. Yet, Mongolia has wanted to buy one thousand tons of sugar from us, a very small quantity, as a symbol of the fact that the whole Socialist world has been marching alongside of us to support the Cuban Revolution, to support it even militarily if necessary, which would be the most unfortunate thing for all, because it would be a world war, and to support it in this competition, which is also very hard, of peaceful coexistence, or semi-peaceful coexistence (in our case it is not so peaceful, because every day we have to shoot down a plane, or chase away it at least, and bear arms and discover terrorists).

The whole Socialist world is supporting us in this competition to prove to America, in the first place, and to the whole colonial world, in the second, that a colonial country, no matter how near the oppressing country, in this case the United States, can free itself, and that if it conducts its Revolution correctly, knows how to unite its people, and knows how to find the fraternal aid of other countries that struggle for liberty everywhere in the world, it becomes invincible. That is one of our

**GROWTH OF CUBAN TRADE
WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES**

1958	\$ 1.000,000
1960	136.000,000
1961	500.000,000

tasks, let's say, our foreign task: proving to America, to all our brothers and sisters, those who speak the same language that we do, what can be done when power is really taken, when the instruments of oppression of the previous power, such as the army, are annihilated, when the oppressing classes, the big land-owning class and the great monopolies are liquidated, and the people install themselves solidly in power.

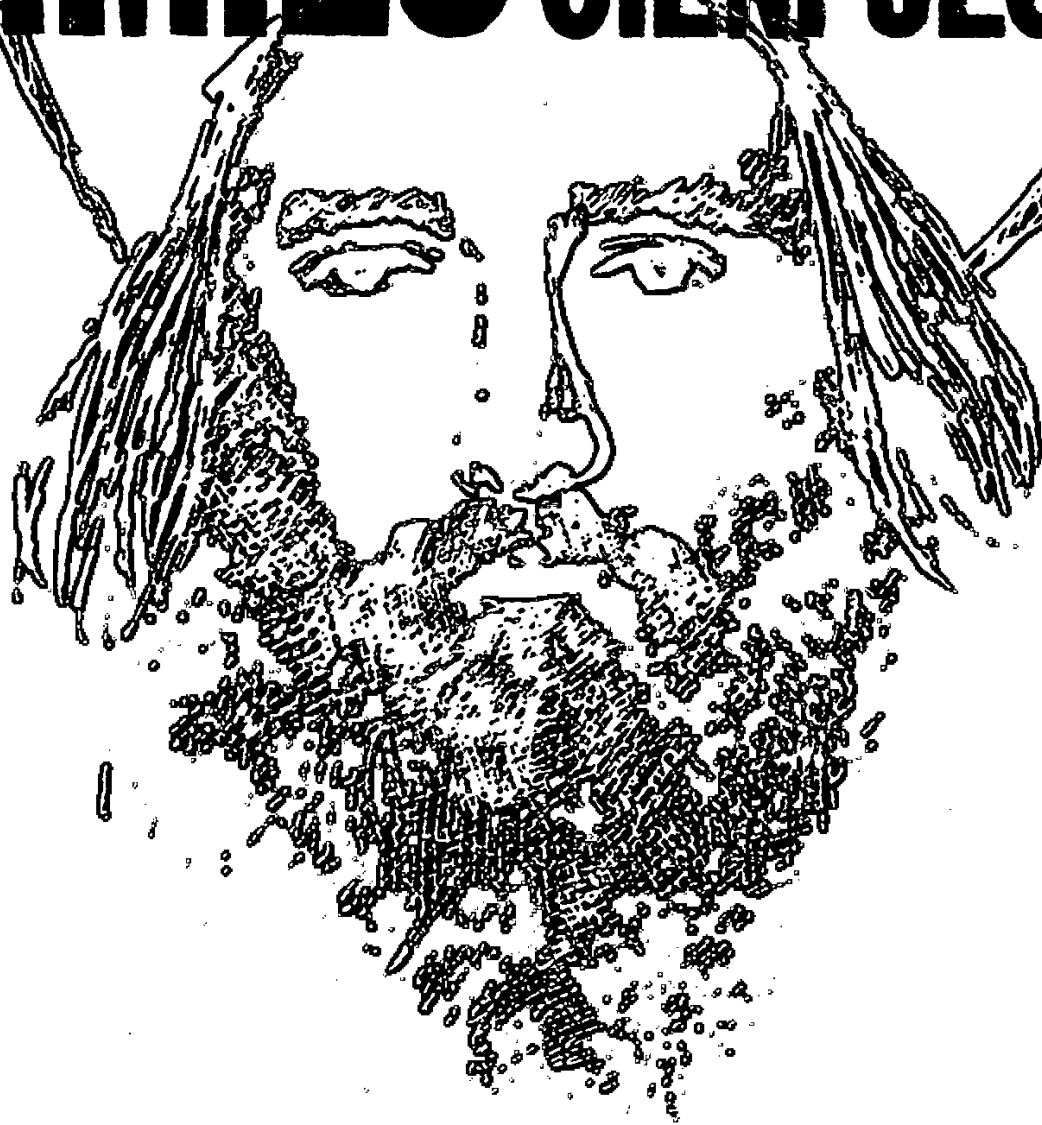
The next task, the following task, is to work every day, and organize, because all this requires constantly greater organization; every day it is proven that without organization no progress can be made, and that the whole economic process and the entire process of the country must be united in a central planning board, to evaluate and balance all the component factors, being careful that what we call a bottleneck does not occur, that is, when forgetting about one field and developing another field greatly, we are brought to a stop.

I think we have done it fairly well, it couldn't be expected of us to do it perfectly this first year, but we all have to improve ourselves; it is not a one-man task, it is not a task of the government alone. It is a task of the people; the following task, the task of planning, is a task of the people in which everyone has to participate. (APPLAUSE).

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STAT

CAMILO CIEINFUEGOS



PEOPLE'S HERO



CAMILO CIENFUEGOS

People's Hero

**1962
YEAR OF PLANNING
HAVANA, CUBA**

CAMILO

On October 28, 1959, Cuba lost one of her most glorious heroes, Major Camilo Cienfuegos.

Member of the Granma expedition, courageous fighter in the Sierra Maestra, chief of the *Antonio Maceo* Invasion Column, and of the Rebel Army after the triumph of the Revolution, Camilo was the model revolutionary, a worthy son of the working class who dedicated all his effort and enthusiasm to the cause of liberating his land.

Today Camilo is a symbol of the Cuban people, an inspiration for all fighters.

The workers who combat the imperialist embargo, who raise production levels, who create new work procedures, regard Camilo as a symbol, an inspiration. The thousands of young people who taught illiterates to read and write in the mountains and valleys were carrying out Camilo's ideal. Those who wear the uniform of the National Militia or the Revolutionary Armed Forces follow Camilo's example. As Fidel explained, Camilo was a product of the people, and the people always create new heroes.

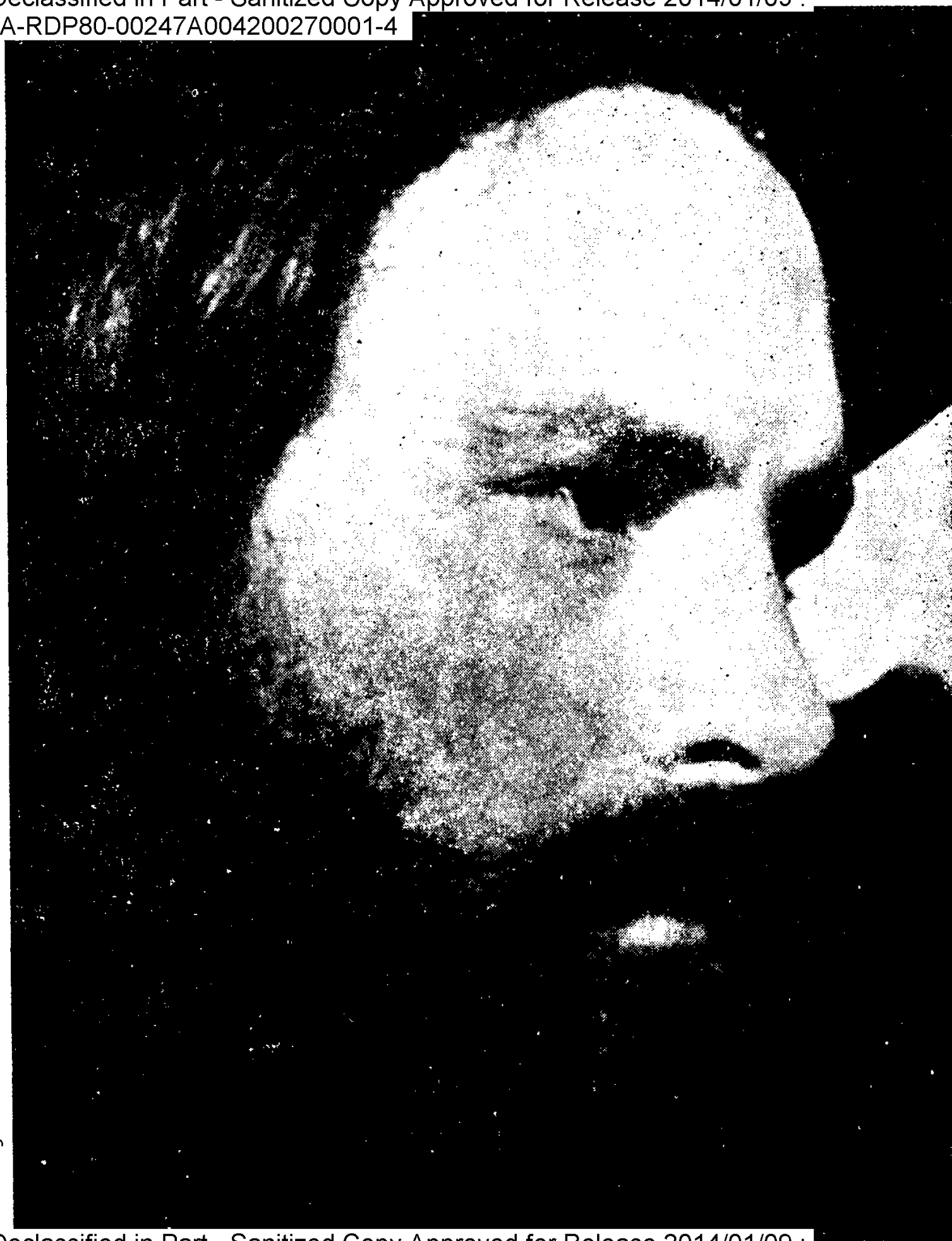
When mercenaries paid by Yankee imperialism trod on Cuban soil at Playa Girón, each of our heroic fighters, each man who bore arms ready to win, and won, each man who died defending the soil of his country, was a Camilo.

Today Cuba is menaced once more. Imperialism prepares to attack the rebel island again.

But heroic Cuba will kneel only before the memory of her dead, to tell them that she will defend her Revolution at all costs. Heroic Cuba will win again and again, now and always, over the imperialist aggressor. And Camilo Cienfuegos, hero of the people, will again be the glorious inspiration of our combatants.

Camilo and those like him who died with the people foremost in their thoughts will live forever in the memory of the people.

Long live the Socialist Revolution of Cuba! Glory to Camilo Cienfuegos!



Biography of a Hero

"Camilo was our comrade in a hundred battles, he enjoyed Fidel's full confidence in the most difficult moments of the war, he was a selfless fighter who always employed self-sacrifice as an instrument to steel his character and form the character of his troops."

(From the book Guerrilla Warfare, by Major Ernesto Guevara.)

Camilo Cienfuegos was born in the Jesús del Monte district of Havana on February 6, 1932. He came from a humble home; his honest, hardworking parents took great pains to assure their three children an education. Camilo started public school at the age of five. In 1939 his family moved to the Lawton district of Havana, where he was to grow up. He attended Public School No. 105 up to the Fifth Grade. In school and at home he learned about the history of his country and about the Spanish Civil War; his parents, of Spanish origin, followed the developments of the war closely. The study of the history of his country and of the Spanish war left its trace on his character, which was displaying the first sparks of rebellion.

Camilo's life was much like that of any other youngster; he had friends in the neighborhood and at school, earning their affection through his cheerful character and unselfishness. He gained a reputation as a good baseball player.

After finishing elementary school, Camilo enrolled in Junior High School No. 13 in the Vibora district, for the Seventh and Eighth Grades. At the age of 17 he began attending the San Alejandro Art School, where he studied sculpture for a year. While a student at San Alejandro, he began to work at the *El Arte* Store.

In 1953 he left for the United States, fleeing the tyranny and seeking better living conditions. He was soon repulsed by the environment and the exploitation to which the working people were subjected in the United States, and decided to return to Cuba. In 1954 the student struggle against Batista intensified. Camilo was attracted by the rebellious spirit of the youth who fought Batista's hirelings daily.

He began attending political meetings, especially at the University of Havana. On December 7, 1955, while participating in a demonstration, he received a bullet wound in a foot. At the hospital he requested that other comrades be treated first because "my wound is not so important."

In December, 1955, unemployed, finger-printed by all repressive forces, and witnessing the disorganization of the opposition, he had to leave Cuba again. The Yankee way of life smothered him; he had a very difficult time, working at all sorts of jobs.

In New York he read statements by Fidel Castro proclaiming the need of armed struggle in order to free the country from the Batista tyranny. He decided to go to Mexico, setting out with very little money. In Mexico he joined the group which, led by Fidel, marked the birth of liberation.

On December 2, 1956, he was one of the 82 men who landed at Belic, province of Oriente, on the yacht *Granma*. On December 5, attacked by the tyrant's air force, the group arrived at Alegría de Pío, where a bitter battle took place and the group was dispersed. Many days later, in the middle of December, a group of combatants came together and, led by Fidel, were heading for the peaks of the Sierra Maestra mountains by the end of the month. Camilo, a plain soldier in that group, proved to be an outstanding fighter in the La Plata battle; he distinguished himself again at Palma Mocha and all encounters with the enemy. At the battle of El Uvero he was placed in charge of a platoon, with the rank of lieutenant. The battles of Lombrito, Bueycito, and Pino del Agua were marked by his courage and his qualities as a strategist.

After a few sporadic battles, Pino del Agua was attacked again. In that combat, Camilo displayed great courage and fearlessness. He reached the very trenches of the enemy. He practically grabbed the weapons from their hands, attacking with true passion. In the middle of the crash of battle he fell with a serious lung wound, another bullet wound in a thigh, and fragments of shrapnel in his forehead. Though critically hurt, he demonstrated his gallantry and nobility. When they saw him, his men ran to help him and improvised a stretcher to carry him from the battlefield. But Camilo noticed another wounded man at his side and ordered them to attend to him first. Seeing that his order was not being followed, he said: "Either you carry him or I will." And they had to remove the wounded soldier first.

After recovering, Camilo participated in the actions of Las Mercedes and El Jique. When it was time to take the war to other fronts, he received the colossal task of taking it to the plains. On March 31, leading an invading column, he left the mountains for the Bayamo area, where he dealt blow after blow to the Batista army. In April, 1958, he was promoted to major, with the areas of Bayamo, Manzanillo, and Victoria de las Tunas under his jurisdiction.

In the following months Camilo participated in the counter-offensive which totally destroyed the forces sent in by Batista in his determination to destroy the Rebel Army; Camilo was responsible for many actions that humiliated and ridiculed the tyrant's pompous officer corps.

On August 18, Fidel signed the military order that put the Rebel Army on the offensive for once and for all. Camilo and Che Guevara were responsible for directing and carrying out the invasion of the western provinces. The *Antonio Maceo* Column set out on August 21, with Camilo heading it, while Che commanded the *Ciro Redondo* Invasion Column No. 8. On October 7, after numerous hardships in which the troops and their glorious leader demonstrated extraordinary heroism, the *Antonio Maceo* Column entered Las Villas. The combats waged at Mayajigua, Placetas, Zulueta, and the hard-fought battle of Yaguajay, made the forces of the tyranny feel the overwhelming presence of the Rebel Army.

When the tyrant fled, the Invading Column received the order to head for Havana and take the military camps of Columbia and La Cabaña. Camilo assumed command of the armed forces. Acclaimed by the people as one of their genuine heroes, Camilo was deeply admired for his spirit of sacrifice, his courage, and his loyalty to the Revolution. When Hubert Matos turned traitor, Camilo carried out the order to arrest him. Addressing the people from Camagüey, he strongly condemned the divisionist treason, expressing himself as a true revolutionary, who sees in unity the strength of the people and their cause.

On October 28, 1959, returning to Havana, the airplane in which he was flying disappeared with all aboard. Stricken with grief, the people searched incessantly for days. On November 12, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, Major Fidel Castro, informed them of the fruitless results of the search. His words drew a picture of that extraordinary fighter: "Men like Camilo arise from the people and live for the people. Our only compensation for the loss of such a close comrade is the knowledge that the people of Cuba produce men like him. Camilo lives and will live in the people."

Report on the Invasion

Pages from the field diary of Camilo Cienfuegos

Plains of Santa Clara,
October 9, 1958

Fidel Castro Ruz,
Commander-in-Chief of the
Revolutionary Forces;

Fidel, give everyone a big hug from me. After an involuntary silence caused by the thousand mishaps of the march, today, after having penetrated fifty kilometers into the province of Las Villas and having found a rebel camp in the north, well organized and with courageous men, although not enough weapons, the opportunity has come for making the report that should have reached your hands some time ago.

To begin with, I want to tell you that since we left the Cauto region, heading westwards, we have traveled, without resting a single night, for forty days, many times without guides, with the southern coast to orient us and a compass as a guide. The trip through that area was disastrous. We marched for fifteen days with water and mud up to our knees; every night we had to evade ambushes and troops situated at places we had to cross.

In the thirty-one days that the trip through the province of Camagüey lasted, we ate only eleven times; even though this is the major cattle zone of Cuba, after four days without any food, we had to eat a mare, the best of our already depleted cavalry.

Almost all of the food stayed in the marshes and swamps of the southern coast.

We haven't heard from Che in twenty-two days. The last news was on the 16th of last month, when eight comrades and later on some others from his troops joined us after a combat in a place known as Cuatro Compañeros.

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Yesterday we arrived at this rebel camp, where we were given a marvelous welcome by its chief, Félix Torres, who showered us with attentions. Waiting for Che, they had placed guides all around the province. A 26th of July group also operates in this area, with which we have already made contact.

Today they tell me that Che left the Baraguá area, although he is marching very slowly, due to the physical condition of his men; this news is still unconfirmed. We passed through the same place and we know it well; it is terrible, the sea and the marshes are at one side; in front is the Lituabo River, with only one crossing-place, the Cantarrana bridge, where there were three ambushes of twenty men each, a half kilometer away from one another; the Baraguá, Jagüeyal and Stewart sugar mills are to the north, with a great number of soldiers, and numerous ambushes the length of the line. To the rear of the Baraguá line is the wharf of the same name, with several ambushes that they placed there after we penetrated to that point. The tyranny has placed, and I am not exaggerating, about seven hundred soldiers there. The tactic followed by the army was to let us pass to the Lituabo River, shut the exit, and give us a blow that would prevent the Antonio Maceo Invading Column from advancing to its goal.

During the crossing of the province of Camagüey we had a total of three encounters with the mercenary army of the tyranny, in which we did not suffer any casualties. However, we lost Lieutenant Zenén Mariño, who was taken prisoner when he was scouting for a guide in the vicinity of the Aguilera Rice Mill. We also lost Lieutenant Delfín Moreno, the one who delivered our messages when we were operating in the Cauto area, when he was surprised by the army in a house, along with soldier Germán Barreto (Grandfather) who managed to escape, although he could not make contact with our troops; we lost a number of documents, including the field diary of the days we spent in the low lands the first time. This happened when the rest of the troops were not able to reach the spot where we were supposed to meet in the forest, since the guide who was to take us lost his way for more than two hours in a canefield. Dawn caught us there, making it impossible to reach the rendezvous-point due to the great number of houses in the neighborhood. This happened the morning after we crossed the line from Júcaro to Morón, where we burned and destroyed the water-supply plant at Ciego de Avila, after a small skirmish where an army corporal died and we took a soldier prisoner, seizing two Springfield rifles, two cartridge belts, and two pistols.

Now for a detailed report of some of the most important events that happened during the crossing of the province of Camagüey by the Invading Column.

We crossed the Jobabo River in the south, on September 7, before midnight. On the eighth we avoided meeting up with a small ambush that the army had placed in the village of Tana, waiting for a group of gunners who were said to operate in that zone; it was with this ambush that Che had an encounter, when he passed through that area. We reached the La Federal woods without any problem. Early in the morning shots were heard, sporadic shooting keeping up for over two hours, which made us think that the army was advancing along the road that we had taken the night before.

A little while later, we received a message from Che that his men had clashed with them, with the result of two dead and one injured on our part and two dead and five taken prisoner on their part; seven rifles were captured. After that, the Ciro Redondo Column, commanded by Che Guevara, joined us and together we set out for the woods in the vicinity of the Francisco sugar mill.

On the night of the tenth we left our cavalry, which was composed of more than seventy horses, and we set out in trucks. One kilometer from the railroad of the Francisco sugar mill, scout squad no. 1, commanded by Captain Guerra, came across a jeep full of soldiers coming from the sugar mill; we immediately took the necessary measures thinking that we had fallen into an ambush, since the army knew our route; that same afternoon two hundred and fifty soldiers had arrived from Camagüey; we cut the telephone wires and took up combat positions, the jeep fled and everything ended with our troops crossing rapidly.

The overflowing river stopped us, and we had to camp in the forest by the Macareño sugar mill. The following night, we undertook the trip again, in other trucks. After many attempts to draw out the trucks in the mud, we took to the highway that goes from Santa Cruz to Camagüey, which is always patrolled by enemy jeeps. After marching two kilometers along that highway, we turned off onto the road that goes to Cuatro Compañeros, having to stop again due to finding the Najasa River overflowing; the trucks returned and we camped nearby.

On the thirteenth, we reached the Forestal woods, near the town of Cuatro Compañeros. Quite early we were sure that enemy troops were on our trail, although they did not reach the place where we were; we had already taken the necessary measures in case there was

combat. The railroad line and the telephone lines from Camagüey to Santa Cruz would be cut at the moment of the first shot. At seven P.M. we emerged from the woods; a few kilometers away we reached a road. Scarcely had we crossed the bridge when a strong explosion was heard, followed by volleys of machine gun fire and rounds from automatic rifles. We all threw ourselves to the ground rapidly; the lead platoon, headed by Captain Guerra, answered the enemy fire. The house and near-by area from which the shots came were surrounded. That was enough for Batista's troops to withdraw, taking several wounded with them. We were not able to determine their number, but in several places there were traces of blood. It is necessary to point out the firm decision and courage with which our guide led us at that time.

We camped for the day. On the first we learned that Che's column had fallen into an ambush in the same town of Cuatro Compañeros.

That same afternoon we met a group of nine comrades who had lost contact with the troops; three of them were officers who marched with us from that moment on. Together with those comrades came two young gunmen who had served them as guides, leading them to us. They turned out to be the men who were assaulting and robbing in the name of the 26th of July Revolutionary Movement: Edel Casañas, seventeen years old, and Máximo Quevedo, nineteen. They were declared guilty of the crimes of assault and robbery, not being able to deny their guilt before their victims; they were tried and condemned to death.

On the eighteenth, we headed for the bridge where we were going to cross the San Pedro River, already explored by the scouts, where enemy troops and two cannons were found, as well two hundred soldiers and several ambushes at the Castillo farm. We crossed the Altamira river, which was very high, being forced to make rope bridges and rafts in order to send over weapons and equipment. There, where we were planning to spend several days, our position was discovered by two men who fled when they saw us; we were able to confirm later on that they were soldiers.

At dawn on the 20th we reached a small forest on the Trinidad farm, three kilometers from the La Yagua river, crossed by the highway that goes to Vertientes, and we passed the railroad line that goes from the Agramonte sugar mill to the beach, or port, of Santa María;

the tyrant's troops had ambushes ready on the road that goes to the beach, at the Trinidad store, at Tres del Caney, and at Seis de Agramonte—a total of six hundred mercenaries.

On the 21st we crossed the line of ambushes that they had prepared for us from the Santa María beach to the Agramonte sugar mill.

When a comrade fell off a horse, he accidentally shot off a San Cristóbal automatic rifle. Days later, when we arrested a soldier, we learned that a group of soldiers stationed there saw us, heard the shot and our signals, and did nothing to stop us. This is the most palpable demonstration that the Batista army does not want to fight and that its bungling is increasing and its morale lower every day.

That night we camped on the Ceiba farm, belonging to the Vertientes Company, near the road that leads to Florida; a hundred and fifty soldiers were camping two kilometers from us on the same farm. At midday we heard shots and the sounds of jeeps on the line; it all turned out to be the moving of troops to intercept our next step. At night we went along the road that goes from Santa María to Florida, which is patrolled constantly, and had no problems.

On the 24th (Wednesday), Lieutenant Zenén Mariño, accompanied by a prisoner called Fernández, went to explore the area and try to find some peasant who would guide us, since we were lost. That afternoon the air force bombed intensively a small forest some kilometers away from us. Comrade Zenén did not return, since he was captured by the soldiers; although the air planes were bombing, our position was not discovered, showing that our comrade knew how to behave like a valiant revolutionary, not revealing our location.

The situation became graver, since we we had to continue the march without a guide. We kept going for two nights, walking along the coast with a compass as a guide. After walking at night, we camped in a forest—we were lost again. We placed Lieutenant Delfin Moreno with a squad in a forest two kilometers from where we were, with orders to stop anyone who came along the highway, in order to get a guide. After waiting all morning without anyone passing, he headed to the rice mill area, and located three workers, explaining to them that he was lost and that he needed someone to guide him out of the place; one of the three, Edilio Sanabria, a big moon-faced Negro, offered to go in search of a certain person who knew the area. But he turned out to be a first class informer. Instead of bringing the guide, he brought the tyrant's troops, thus preventing us from finishing roasting

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the mare that we had slaughtered for food, after four days without eating. Lieutenant Moreno escaped to where we were, leaving the soldiers firing heavily at the empty forest for twenty-three hours.

Led by workers from the rice mill, we left the place where the soldiers were attacking an empty forest, fighting with a valor seldom seen.

We headed towards the house of some charcoal-makers, where we found five men who were not worth anything; one of them began to cry, the situation was difficult, and we had to take them with us so that they would guide us out of the place. They took us to a forest, where we camped, while in the distance we heard the constant rounds against the besieged forest.

A squad of scouts located a house where, aside from food, we got a guide, a guide for one league; none of them were any good. That night we crossed the line that goes from the Baraguá sugar mill to the wharf of the same name.

A few kilometers from the line we found a guide whom we were told was an informer, but could lead us to the bridge over the Lituabo river, since the marshes on the coast are impassable, and the river cannot be crossed on foot. Considering that we would not be able to reach a place to camp before night, after passing the bridge, and having a certain distrust in the crossing point, we decided to camp before crossing, in order to send a scout the next day to that dangerous point. Ambushes were placed at a certain distance from our camp, since we knew that the foreman of the farm was a consummate rogue, who had handed in people in the August 5 strike. At three in the afternoon a sentinel caught three men who pretended to be peasants. After long individual questioning, they fell into contradictions; two of them were wearing military boots. All denied belonging to the army; the youngest, Enrique Navarro Herrera, was the foreman of the farm. When they were told that they had to take us along the bridge, marching in front, they confessed to being corporal Juan Trujillo Medina and soldier Jesús Pino Barrios, of unit 22 of the Rural Police, Agramonte Regiment No. 2; the other, foreman Navarro Herrera, acting as the stool pigeon he was, was the spies' guide. Corporal Trujillo detailed fully all the ambushes that five companies (over 500 soldiers) had placed for us along the bridge, all along the line from the beach to the Baraguá sugar mill, and from the sugar mill to the Central Highway; even if we broke through those ambushes, they had others all along the line as far as the Stewart sugar mill, and from Stewart to Júcaro.

As Corporal Trujillo was the one who had placed the ambushes, and as he had the most knowledge of the whole area, since he had thirty years service there, we told him that the only way he had to save his life was to take us out of there without firing a shot. The corporal explained that the only way to escape the ambushes was to head for the north and cross the Central Highway, 25 kilometers away, between the small towns of Gaspar and Colorado, not very far from Ciego de Avila. Corporal Trujillo undoubtedly turned out to be the best of the guides, since he led us without any problem by an endless number of ambushes and near the Baraguá army post, where there were over 200 soldiers.

After walking a twisting and turning 30 kilometers, we got very near the Central Highway before daybreak, and we decided to stay at a canefield 200 meters from the highway and about 24 kilometers from Ciego de Avila.

At dawn we sent the medical captain of the column to Ciego de Avila to establish contact with the local leadership of the 26th of July Movement in order to get a supply of food, medicine, guides and trucks which we needed in order to move forward in the direction of restless Las Villas province.

We waited under intense rain until 12 midnight; at that time, our presence there being known in Ciego de Avila, and considering the danger of remaining in that open area, we decided, in spite of the late hour and the muddy roads, to seize some trucks and get as far away as possible from such an inhospitable area, running the natural risk, mainly, that the trucks would get stuck in the mud and that we would be located through them.

Late at night, at 12:30, we sent to a nearby village for some trucks. We moved forward in them on a very bad road, constantly getting stuck and delaying our journey a great deal. At dawn we reached another small village, and we were forced to occupy the 30 homes composing it. The inhabitants were frightened because they thought that the army might show up at any moment. Shortly afterwards they overcame their fears and spoke amicably with the Rebels. We placed guards and ambushes in the village, far enough away so that the residents would not run any risk, and strong enough to repel the enemy. Everyone was aware of the great danger of the army entering the village and —in another act of barbarity— burning down the houses and killing the residents. At school there were over 40 children. At first all cried and wanted to go home. That day, the teacher had not at-

tended school due to the impossible road conditions. A rebel, Captain Alfonso Sánchez (Pinares) gave classes and distributed soft drinks, sweets, notebooks and some change among the children. Then they were all happy. Among the children we found some happy hours that made us forget the fatigue and hardships of the previous night.

When time came to go home, one boy refused to go; crying, he wanted to go with us or have us come back on the following day. They all sang the National Anthem and promised that every Friday they would place flowers before the bust of José Martí at the school, and that on the following day they would ask the teacher to speak to them of José Martí, why he struggled and why he died.

That night we had to cross the historic area of Júcaro-Morón.

The men, filled with patriotic fervor, waited impatiently for the time to depart. At seven o'clock we began the difficult task of driving out on the stranded trucks. It was late when we crossed the highway from Morón to Ciego de Avila.

At 12:30 A.M. on September 31 we crossed the area. All the men crossed it on foot, the trucks following behind. Since the trucks were almost out of gas, we went to get some near the waterworks of Ciego de Avila. As we were passing, we saw a man in the shade, carrying a rifle, who tried to hide himself. We told him to stop, but he managed to get into a house. We surrounded it and told him to surrender; we didn't want to kill him or wound the woman who was crying inside. The man finally opened the door; he was a soldier, José R. Ruiz Cruz, of Unit 23 of the Rural Police of Ciego de Avila, 34, with 11 years in service, married. He surrendered and handed over a Springfield rifle and a Luger pistol with ammunition. Through him we learned of the presence of two other soldiers in the area, and we surrounded the house of Corporal Domingo Montejó Pernut, of the same Rural Police unit. Ruiz called him from the outside, so he would not suspect our presence, but Montejó was suspicious and came out through the back door, opening fire against Lieutenant Walfrido Pérez, who aimed at him with his Browning automatic rifle and shot when attacked; the Corporal died with the first round fired against him, we had no casualties, and neither did the family inside. We took the corporal's Springfield rifle, ammunition and a pistol. The other soldier, Leandro Castellanos Brito, ran away in a great rush, in his underwear. Immediately afterwards the waterworks at Ciego de Avila was set on fire, and the city was left without water for several days.

The Rebel troops immediately got on the trucks and set off on the road to Marroquí. A few kilometers down the road we had to leave the trucks, since they were stuck and it was almost day. On the road we found a man with a team of oxen, who offered to guide us to a nearby forest where we could spend the day. Since the oxen had to be taken elsewhere, along a different road, we assigned Lieutenant Delfín Moreno and soldier Germán Barreto (Grandfather) the task of taking them there, while the rest of the troops marched towards the area where we were to camp. After two hours of walking along a road, the guide lost his way and it became impossible to continue the march. A great many houses surrounded the canefield where we were, and we decided to camp in it until nightfall. At seven A.M. a reconnaissance plane flew over, locating the abandoned trucks, two kilometers away. At 11:30 A.M. a rebel reconnaissance patrol discovered a great number of soldiers at the river that we had crossed a few hours before. At that time, six trucks loaded with the dictator's soldiers rode along a road about 800 meters from where we were. About noon a great many soldiers passed very near our guards; all our men, in a state of alert, were placed in a defensive line throughout the canefield where we were camped. The sun was scorching; the men did not move from their positions, so that our location would not be discovered. At about 4 P.M., more or less, we heard strong fire about 4 or 5 kilometers away; the constant going and coming of trucks showed the soldiers' eagerness to discover our position. In the evening we had to cross a truly dangerous area, without any knowledge of where the enemy might be. At 7 P.M. we started off; after several hours of walking we were out of danger. We were all eager to establish contact with the comrades who had left our troops; all had the same thought in mind —whether the shots we heard in the afternoon had been directed at them. They were. A truck filled with soldiers reached the house where they were; surprising Lieutenant Moreno, who was machinegunned by the soldiers. Soldier Barreto managed to escape, since he was not inside the house. That grave accident cost the life of one of our most courageous men, and caused the loss of some documents and the field diary of the months when we operated in the Cauto area, when the column reached the plains for the first time. Deeply hurt by the loss of our comrade, we continued marching, reaching the forest where we were to camp about 4 A.M. Following security measures, we did not let anyone see us; we were not even interested in eating. Everyone was eager to reach Las Villas. It was near, and that gave us the necessary strength to continue forward. At nightfall we reached a house where we got a guide who could lead us on the road. That night we crossed the road from Marroquí to Majagua. In that area we found more resolute men

who were ready to cooperate in any manner. We received many visitors in our camp, and got three recruits, making a total of seven for the province of Camagüey.

When we crossed the border separating the two provinces a few days later, some men were still carrying two rifles. There we were informed that five youths riding in a car on the highway from Marroquí to Majagua had been murdered by the tyrant's troops. The night before, at twilight, trucks carrying soldiers had met on that road; in their confusion, each thinking the others were rebels, they opened fire against each other, causing five deaths and several wounded. A great number of soldiers fled in confusion and reappeared on the following day. Their line was that they had been attacked by the rebels, and they asked the local farmers for protection as far as the nearest army post. That night we walked little and ate a great deal. We reached Americanos hill at 2 A.M. There began the hills, reminding us of our beloved Sierra Maestra Mountains, our many beloved comrades hundreds of kilometers away who were with us in our thoughts. At seven in the evening we began the walk to Las Villas. Due to the cowardice of the guides the trip was very long. One of them, Jesús López, a volunteer, who was armed with a Winchester and a revolver, and who had been passing for a revolutionary and a rebel for some time, fled when he found out that on the road we had to cross there were two ambushes of forty soldiers each, and that we had to cross in between. Through the guide's mistake, we almost wound up in the town of Florencia. We had to cut through a number of fences, which allowed our presence there to be discovered. We camped two kilometers from restless and hospitable Las Villas.

Dawn was foggy and rainy. Camagüey bid farewell to us the same way it had welcomed us —with a storm. That was the only night we rested after marching 40 days. The Jatibonico river had overflowed and this prevented us from crossing it; we had to return to our previous camp beneath torrential rain and strong winds. We spent the night in several houses there. The next day we had food prepared. The following reports reached us, one after the other: that the army was coming near; that soldiers were moving in all directions; that the roads were blocked; that soldiers from Ramones, Boquerones and Florencia had joined to form a line that would prevent us from crossing to Las Villas. But nothing could prevent our crossing, neither the overflowing rivers nor the hundreds of soldiers who were said to be moving about us.

We put a rope across the Jatibonico; the water was chest-high and the current was strong. I kissed the soil of Las Villas, and all the men were delirious with joy. A small part of our mission had been fulfilled. Camagüey and its difficult moments were behind us, Camagüey and its hours of hunger were behind us. In regard to this, during the 31 days of marching through that province we only ate eleven times, including the day we ate a raw mare without salt.

In that manner we achieved one of the greatest revolutionary military triumphs, since, despite the numerous troops of the dictatorship who tried to exterminate us, we had crossed the long distance from Oriente to Las Villas with only three casualties.

Signed: *Camilo Cienfuegos*

**"An entire people are ready to die before
living on their knees..."**

*Last speech delivered by Major Camilo Cienfuegos on
October 26, 1959, before a gigantic rally held in front
of the Presidential Palace, two days before his disap-
pearance.*

People of Cuba:

As high and mighty as the Sierra Maestra mountains are the revolutionary consciousness, dignity, and valor of the people of Cuba, today assembled at this huge rally held in front of this presidential palace, now revolutionary, of the people of Cuba.

The invincible Turquino peak is today, and will always be, the model for the Cuban people's support of their Revolution. It is shown this afternoon that the treacherous and cowardly treasons carried out against this people and this Revolution do not matter; that the mercenary airplanes that come here manned by war criminals and protected by powerful interests of the United States government do not matter, because our people do not let themselves be confused by traitors, they do not fear the mercenary aircraft, as the rebel troops, when they were advancing to the offensive, did not fear the aircraft of the dictatorship.

This huge rally confirms the irrevocable faith of the Cuban people in this government, because we know that the Cuban people will not let themselves be confused by the campaigns conducted by the enemies of the Revolution; because the people of Cuba know that for each traitor who appears there will be a thousand rebel soldiers who are ready to die defending the liberty and sovereignty won by the people.

We see signs and we hear these valiant people saying: "Forward. Fidel, Cuba is with you!"

And today the Rebel Army, the men who fought in the mountains, men who do not sell out to money, who do not frighten, tell him: "Forward. Fidel, the Rebel Army is with you!"

This demonstration of the people, these workers, these farmers, these students who have come to this rally today, give us the strength to continue on with the Revolution, to continue on with the Agrarian Reform, and nothing and no one will halt us. Because it is shown today that just as twenty thousand Cubans died to achieve this liberty and sovereignty, an entire people are ready to die if necessary before living on their knees.

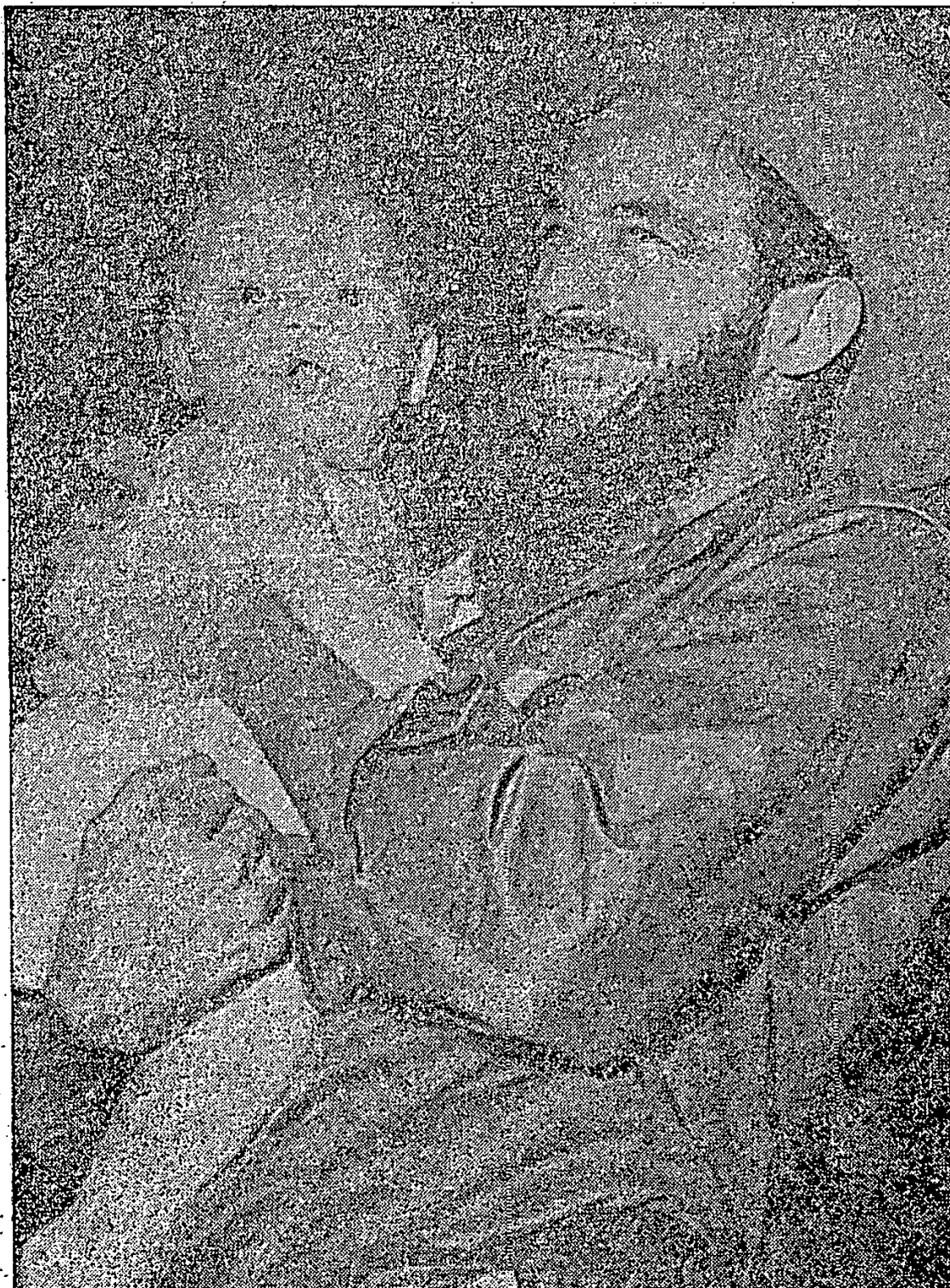
Because in order to stop this deeply Cuban Revolution, an entire people will have to be killed. And if that should come to pass, these lines of Bonifacio Byrne will be reality:

"If one day my flag
Is cut into tatters,
Our dead, upraising their arms,
Will still defend it..."

The traitors do not matter, the enemies of the Revolution do not matter, the interests that try to confuse a people who do not let themselves be confused do not matter, for our people know that twenty thousand Cubans died for this Revolution, died to end abuse, to end hunger, to end all the agony that the Republic of Cuba endured for over fifty years.

The enemies of the Revolution should not think that we are going to halt, the enemies of the Revolution should not think that our people are going to halt; those who man the airplanes should not think that we are going to get down on our knees and bow our heads.

Only once will we get down on our knees, only once will we bow our heads... and that will be the day when we kneel before the tombs where twenty thousand Cubans are buried to tell them: Brothers, the Revolution has won, your blood was not shed in vain!



EMP. CONS. DE ARTES GRAFICAS
(MIN. DE INDUSTRIAS)
UNIDAD 1217
FOMENTO 114, LUYANO. HABANA

EDICIONES MINREX
HABANA, CUBA

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EDITORIAL EN MARCHA
AÑO DE LA PLANIFICACION
1962

APARTADO POSTAL 6386.
LA HABANA, CUBA.

Cuba's participation in the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, recently held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, showed once more the one and only commitment of our Revolution to its principles and the people.

Our country attended the meeting to raise its voice once more in defense of peace and brotherhood among peoples. Consequently, President Dorticós, when delivering his speech, was able to announce that Cuba would spare no efforts toward the success of the Conference. These efforts materialized in the examination of the main international problems presently facing the world. From this examination resulted the confirmation of Cuba's views, so many times expressed, particularly before the United Nations.

The appearance at Belgrade had happy consequences for the development of the sessions. President Dorticós recalled Martí's advice that one should approach problems with sleeves rolled up, as the butcher does with the meat. Cuba maintained its inflexible line of fearlessly declaring the truth in public, at any moment.

The speech of our President is a model of systematic and planned exposition. For this reason, and because it was weighty, full of content, the speaker could convey to the minds of the participants in the Conference the unquestionable justice of the causes defended by our country.

The voice of Cuba was the voice of a people standing up in defense of peace and against imperialism, colonialism in every form and race discrimination, and for the final elimination of exploitation of man by man.

Mr. President,

Heads of State and Government:

Let my first words be an expression of my feelings of gratitude towards the Yugoslav people, the Government of this country, and specially towards President Josip Broz Tito, for the cordial and fraternal welcome that has been accorded us. It is also my desire to use this rostrum, in the name of my people, to pay a tribute of admiration to the heroic tradition of the Yugoslav people, and state our sincere desire for their progress and welfare.

When the Revolutionary Government of Cuba was invited to participate in the preparatory meeting of this conference it did not hesitate in offering its affirmative answer. This is not the first time — once the Revolution had triumphed and had earned for the nation the sovereign power of deciding its own international conduct, and had ended the relations of obedience which formerly tied the international policy of my country to the directives of an imperialist country — that Cuba participates in talks or meetings with countries from other continents not bound by military pacts or otherwise to a policy of alignment with either group of nations.

Furthermore, Cuba has advocated that in the international scene, at the time of debating the problems that today excite the anguished attention of all peoples of the world, the voices of the non-aligned nations and the economically under-developed countries be heard.

In fact, it would suffice to remember the attitude of Cuba at the meeting in Tunis in January, 1960, specially the initiative of the Cuban Government, shown right after the discussion in the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Algerian question, to bring about an international meeting of under-industrialized countries. Likewise, on the occasion of the Summit Meeting, which later failed, the Revolutionary Government submitted to the consideration of the statesmen of the Great Powers certain points of view regarding the urgent need to establish on a world scale the appropriate principles, so that the ideal of peaceful coexistence would become a reality and would reach and benefit, not only the nations which, because of their power, occupy the first positions on the world scene,

but also those which struggle to defeat the grave and complex difficulties that have arisen from their inadequate economic development.

Our enthusiastic attendance at this meeting should cause no surprise, not only because all necessary conditions for our participation were present in our case, but because the subjects on the agenda of this conference have constituted the essential concern of the Cuban Government. On each of the questions which this illustrious meeting will discuss, the Government of Cuba, following the firm principles of its foreign policy, has fixed, with extraordinary precision, its opinion and its conduct. Therefore, Cuba has come to this conference to reiterate its points of view stated on many occasions, specially in the forum of the United Nations. She is likewise here to exert her best efforts towards achieving positive and practical results in this meeting which may really contribute to the peaceful solution of the problems that mankind is facing today in an atmosphere charged with drama, and also charged with hope.

COMMITTED TO OUR OWN PRINCIPLES

Gathered in Belgrade are the representatives of the countries which are not aligned or committed in military pacts. This means that in Belgrade those countries are represented that have advocated an independent foreign policy, without any commitments whatsoever with those which take part in military alliances concluded within the sphere of conflict between the Great Powers. But this does not mean that we are not committed to our own principles. Those of us who have the honor to represent our countries, which are peace loving countries that struggle to assert their sovereignty and reach their full national development, are committed, in short, to respond to those vital aspirations and not to betray those principles. Therefore, Cuba proclaims her purpose of fulfilling those commitments and her confidence that all who are here today share her intentions.

It must not be forgotten that this conference is being held

when significant progress is being made in the work for peace, in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and for the development of the backward countries. Surely, this meeting would not have been convoked if we had not had the antecedents of other historical meetings that mark significant milestones in the struggle for peace, for the independence of the peoples, and for civilized coexistence. The conferences of Bandung, Cairo, Accra, Tunis, Leopoldville and Casablanca, constitute precedents without which we would not have been able to meet in Belgrade today.

But we cannot ignore that in spite of all these efforts, in spite of the appearance of new independent states, in spite of the powerful movement for the liberation of the peoples, in spite of the entry of new countries in the United Nations Organization, and in spite of the awakening of the conscience of the people, which spurs us forward to the inevitable destiny of liberty of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, grave dangers and the survival of age-old evils threaten the world's future.

The dangers of a nuclear war have increased. Disarmament negotiations have not progressed. The eradication of colonialism has ceased in Asia and Africa, and new methods of exploitation of the peoples are promoted through the economic, political and military penetration of neo-colonialism. In those continents and in Latin America, through different channels and in many forms, political and economic imperialism, in its last dying gasps, is preparing to drown in blood and poverty the national liberation movements. International perfidy, bribery on a world scale, and warmongering are the instruments that the colonialist and imperialist countries use with inhuman preference.

This Conference must face up to those signs of universal holocaust, exploitation, colonial domination and violence. But it is of vital importance that we define in advance how we shall proceed to do this. The problems of peace, disarmament, peaceful coexistence, colonialism and neo-colonialism, of the independence of nations, are not abstract problems. These are not problems that can be solved through mere declarations of principles that many can subscribe to and very few are ready to fulfill.

APPROACHING TRUTH WITH SLEEVES ROLLED UP

Each of these problems has a name and an expression of its own. Cuba invites all participating countries to abandon general declarations in favor of the consideration of concrete problems. It is well that, upon ending this conference, we should adopt resolutions and declarations of principles. It is well that we should formulate general standards of international conduct aimed at overcoming those evils. But this is not enough. It is also necessary that our voice be heard and that we fix our respective positions with regard to each of the concrete problems that affect peace, the liberation of the peoples and the development of nations.

This Conference would lose effectiveness in the degree that we speak a language of diplomatic hypocrisy and elusive reservations. Therefore, Cuba urges all delegations to follow the advise of our national hero, José Martí, to approach truth with sleeves rolled up, as the butcher does with the meat.

One of the subjects which we must emphasize is that of self-determination of the peoples in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the resolution approved by the General Assembly during its fifteenth session the need to end, rapidly and unconditionally, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, was solemnly proclaimed. It is the duty of this conference to examine whether this solemn declaration of the United Nations Organization is being respected by the colonialist and imperialist countries. It is also its duty to adopt pertinent measures and resolutions in order to achieve the eradication of colonialism within a given term, as said resolution demands.

Let us ask ourselves, therefore, whether there is really a sincere conduct on the part of the colonialist and imperialist countries and a true desire to obey the decision of the United Nations Organization. The Conference must make clear that such conduct does not exist and that, far from obeying that decision, methods of perfidy and violence are used so that the forms of colonial exploitation may survive and new forms of imperialist domination may be created.

In spite of the declaration of the United Nations Organization and the specific resolutions adopted with regard to the Algerian case, it is intended to drown the aspirations of liberty of the Algerian people in more blood, and war is maintained by the French Government with the complicity of other imperialist countries and without the slightest shame. That is why I ask myself: how are we to carry into life the principles of which I spoke in the beginning, if this Conference does not condemn once more French colonialism and adopts resolutions aimed at guaranteeing a future of independence to the heroic Algerian people?

How can we speak here of respect for the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, and of respect for the sovereignty and integrity of States, if we do not adopt resolutions condemning the Portuguese colonialist genocide in Angola?

How could we condemn colonialism and neo-colonialism in this conference again, if we do not condemn in a concrete manner the crime of Algeria, the crimes of Angola, Mozambique, Laos and Tunis? Is it possible that we should forget to state our views regarding the need to hasten talks on Laos, so that a neutral and independent Laos, without foreign interferences, may result from them?

ON GUARD AGAINST "CLIENTELE SOVEREIGNTY"

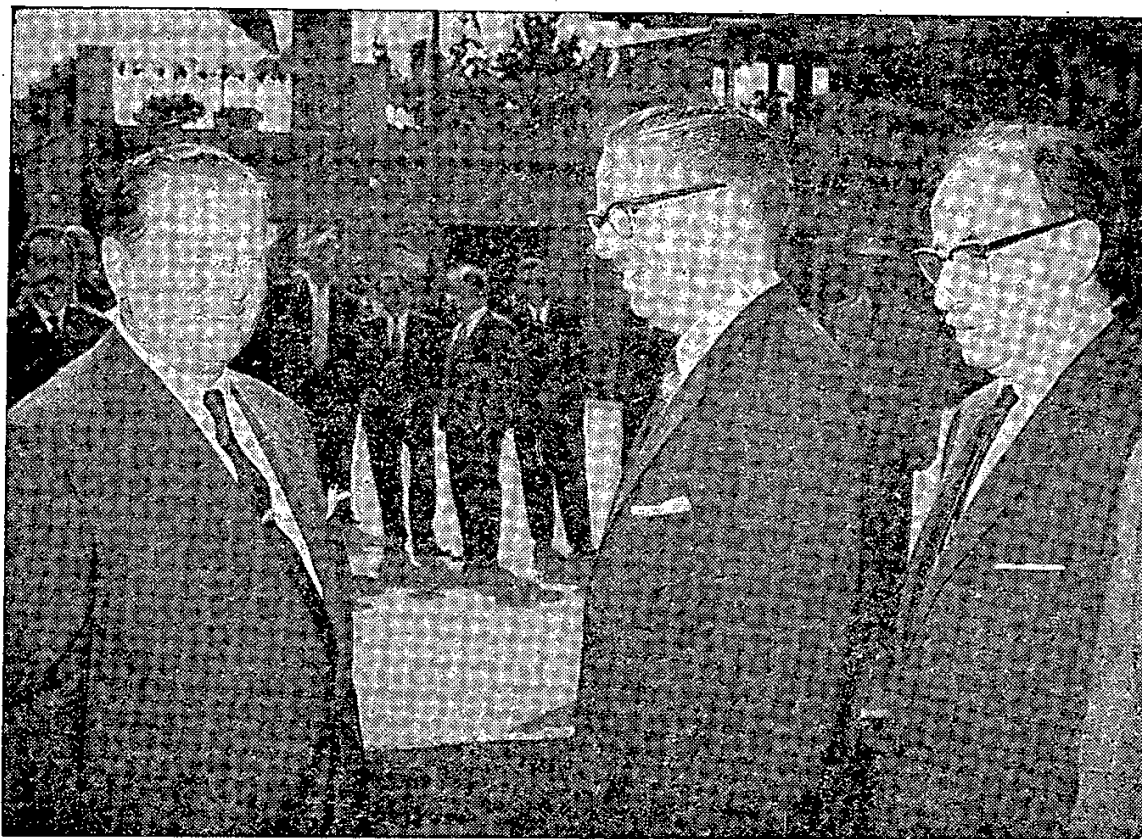
Is it possible to overlook aggression against the integrity of a country, such as the aggression against West Irian?

Shall we cease to demand the withdrawal of British troops from the Kuwait territory? How could we proclaim again in this conference the sacred principles of self-determination of the peoples and the independence and integrity of the States, if we did not air here the imperialist behavior of the Government of the United States in the face of the national struggle of liberation of the Cuban people, whom I represent? How could we proclaim these principles without condemning the bombings of our cities and the invasion of our country by mercenary forces equipped, financed, organized and directed by the United States imperialist government?

How can we possibly declare the universal need of peaceful co-existence among nations, whatever their social and political regimes may be, if we do not also proclaim that this principle is not only applicable to the Great Powers, but to all nations on any of the continents?

It is therefore necessary that we deal with all these concrete situations, and thus guarantee the effectiveness of this Conference.

I believe we should take special care in considering the subtle proceedings with which the imperialist countries intend to promote the survival of the colonial exploitation of the peoples. Many nations have earned the title of independent states, and have obtained their political liberty, but these nations come into international juridical existence with a limited economic and social development, and circumstances are



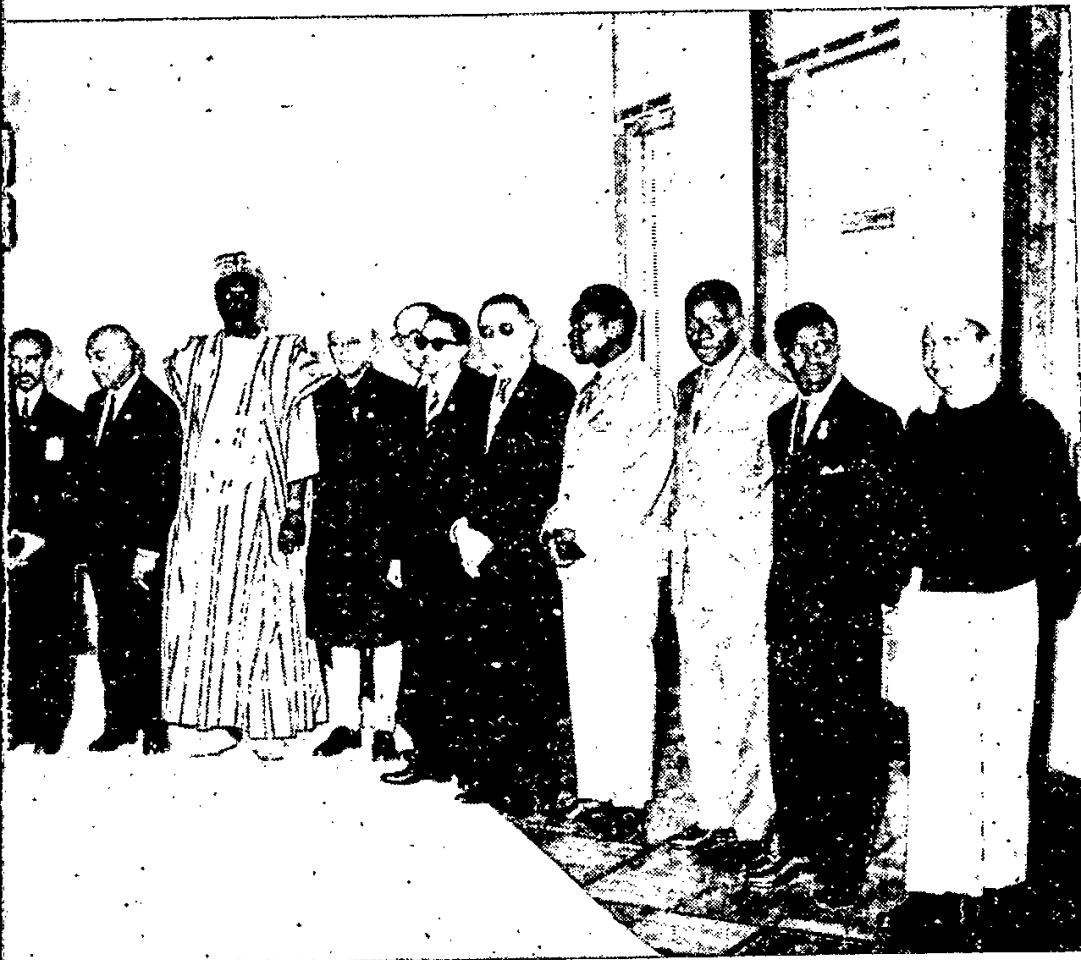
The President of the Republic, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, Head of the Cuban Delegation to the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, and Dr. Raúl Roa García, Minister of Foreign Relations, are welcome by Josip Broz Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, upon their arrival at Belgrade.



therefore extremely favorable for attempts to mutilate the economic independence of those countries and limit their political liberty.

Through pretended economic assistance that misdirects the national development and establishes political conditions, or through the obligation imposed on the new countries of taking part in military blocs, or through the establishment of strategic bases in their territories, the hateful forms of neo-colonialism appear which today threaten the Afro-Asiatic countries, and that is why it is timely to cite the words of President Nkrumah, when during the last session of the United Nations General Assembly he reiterated his constant warning to the African countries to be on guard against what he called "clientele sovereignty," or false independence granted by the metropolitan Power with the hidden intention of making the liberated country a client State by means not necessarily political.

It is therefore imperative that the countries which are gathered



*The Heads of the
Delegations
attending the
Belgrade
Conference.
Dr. Osvaldo
Dorticós
is in the center.*

here, with a non-alignment policy and with respect for the individual positions of each before the problems that we shall debate, make an inventory of all such situations in which the principles that guide the peoples and nations to self-determination, and the States to their sovereignty and integrity, appear committed.

When making this inventory, let us all remember, gentlemen, that the problems of the struggle against imperialism and for the eradication of colonialism and neo-colonialism do not exist only in Asia and Africa, but also in Latin America, and that for this reason the concern of this Conference should not only extend to the Afro-Asiatic countries, but to that region of the world as well.

If we want to be logical, when we condemn the colonialist domination in Algeria and Angola, let us also condemn the colonialist domination in Puerto Rico.

ENERGETIC CONDEMNATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

It is our plan to approach in this Conference one of the problems that affect in a fundamental manner the interests of a considerable part of the world population. I refer to the problem of racial discrimination, and specifically to the "apartheid" policy. The voice of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and the Cuban people can be raised without hypocrisy to urge this Conference to reiterate, with more energy than ever, the condemnation and rejection of all the forms and manifestations of racial discrimination that constitute for the colonialist and imperialist Powers an instrument used for the division and exploitation of the peoples.

It is quite timely that we adopt resolutions in clear-cut terms for liquidation of the "apartheid" policy practiced in South Africa.

We must end the power held by the Union of South Africa, and arrive at formulas through which the resolutions adopted by the United Nations may become effective.

But we should not only oppose that particular manifestation of racial discrimination. It is true that the United Nations Organization has made statements of principle regarding this matter, and it is curious that these manifestations of racial discrimination are still taking place, not only on the African continent, but even in highly developed countries, such as the very country in which the United Nations Organization has its headquarters. The African Heads of State who are listening to me know that members of their delegations in the City of New York have been the victims of abuse because of the color of their skin. Only a few days ago the international press reported the gross physical abuse committed against the interim representative of the Republic of Guinea in the United Nations Organization by the police of that city.

And I ask whether it is not time—and our Conference seems to offer an exceptional occasion for it—that the countries whose governments and leaders forbid, not only in theory, but in practice, all manifestations of racial discrimination, to adopt measures of immediate application by international organizations. I wish to ask

whether we should resign ourselves to the shameful circumstance that illustrious delegates and diplomats, in the exercise of their functions and mandates, forced to travel to the United States of America in order to attend the meetings and carry out their work at the United Nations Organization, should suffer aggressions, abuse and offenses resulting from racial hatred.

I sincerely believe that this Conference should declare for this very reason, and also because of the limitations imposed upon the representatives of nations in dispute with the United States of America—and I wish to remind the delegates at this moment of the abuse and outrages committed against the Cuban delegation last year, generously mentioned by President Nasser—that the country which acts as Headquarters of the United Nations Organization does not offer the necessary guarantees for the complete and dignified performance of their functions to all delegations of this organization, and in the next General Assembly we should promote discussions on that subject and consider the future removal of the Headquarters to a place or country where human dignity will not be so rudely reviled.

As I represent a nation, a Government, a people, and a Revolution that have abolished forever all traces of racial discrimination, I can therefore express in this Conference the most energetic condemnation of discriminatory policies.

FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Allow me to discuss at this moment one of the most polemical matters and at the same time of the greatest interest for world peace. I refer to the problem of general and complete disarmament. The voice of the non-aligned countries should be raised with exceptional vigor with regard to disarmament. This voice should dramatically and urgently demand from the big Powers that they take the necessary immediate steps for the conclusion and signing of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. I firmly believe that the problem of ending nuclear tests is subordinated to the general problem of disarmament and the elimination of situations of conflict which constitute the source of war dangers. An agreement on total disarmament would also imply

the ending of such tests. We should preferably adopt a resolution with a call to the Great Powers to hasten those talks before it is too late.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has had the opportunity of stating its opinion with regard to the problem of disarmament, and again declares in this Conference that it is not only the concern of the Great Powers, but also of the countries which are not members of military blocs and the countries whose twisted and paralyzed economies demand the employment of resources which are today squandered in the arms race. That is why we believe that we should include in the discussions on disarmament the question of using a good part of the resources thus liberated to finance the development of under-industrialized countries, that is, of the peoples and countries which have been subjected to the exploitation of colonialism and imperialism and have not been able to achieve an adequate level in their economic development.

The agreements on disarmament should contain not only provisions about the dissolution of the armed forces, the banning and destruction of armaments and the means to carry out mass extermination, but also about the dismantling and demolishing of military bases in foreign countries. It is evident that the peoples of the countries where foreign military bases have been installed were not consulted. It is not only by reasons of principle and sovereignty and national independence that military bases hurt deeply, but by mere instinct of survival the people reject the establishment in their territories of foreign military bases, which involve close danger of war. At times some governments, forgetting the interests and the will of their peoples, have consented to the establishment or permanency of such bases. However, what represents an absurd and unacceptable situation is that such bases are established and maintained in countries in which the legitimately representative governments of the peoples reject the permanency of same and demand their dismantling.

But absurdity reaches unbelievable proportions when some of the bases do not meet the strategic needs of a potential world war, but serve only for the imperialist domination of the peoples, for the enslavement of nations, and for fighting the movements of national liberation.

It is for these reasons that Cuba did not hesitate in joining the

group of nations that in the United Nations Organization demanded from the Government of France the withdrawal of the troops at the military base of Bizerta, and in condemning the genocide committed against the people of Tunis in the interest of imperialist colonization.

THE GUANTANAMO BASE IS HELD AGAINST THE WILL OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE

Cuba can speak in this Conference from her own painful experience. When our country was militarily occupied by forces of the United States of America, it was forced to tolerate the Guantanamo Naval Base, and after the victory of the Revolution on the 1st of January, 1959 that base is still held in our national territory against the will of the people and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. This base does not even serve the strategic plans for the military defense of the United States. It has only served to hurt our national honor, to shelter counterrevolutionary forces, to smuggle arms into the country with which to fight the liberating Revolution, to concentrate troops whenever the liberation movements of the Caribbean countries have endangered imperialist domination.

Cuba, as well as Tunisia and other countries, has part of its territory occupied by a foreign imperialist military base against the will of its people and its Government. Our national independence and our historical revolutionary achievements suffer every day the threat of military aggressions originated and organized in the United States of America and in the territory of that military base. That is why we have understood the drama of Tunisia and we have offered our spontaneous solidarity to the people of Tunisia in the presence of the crime of Bizerta, and with the authority gained by that dramatic experience, we urge this Conference to adopt a firm resolution demanding the immediate dismantling of all military bases in countries whose people and Governments do not accept them. This decision should be boldly promoted in the next General Assembly of the United Nations and would be a great step forward on the road to disarmament.

But the problem of disarmament is not in itself the entire problem of peace. In order to guarantee peace it is necessary to accept the principle of peaceful coexistence among States with different social and political systems. The principle of self-determination of the peoples

implies that through their sovereign powers they decide their own economic and social structure without interferences and aggressions from other countries. In practice, the imperialist nations do not resign themselves to live in peace with those countries that choose different political and social regimes for their historical development. This not only happens with regard to the big nations, but with regard to the small nations as well. One of the most difficult problems of the countries that reach their national independence is that of the limitations and conditions imposed upon them in relation to their decisions on internal policies. It does not even matter whether all necessary efforts to live in peace with those imperialist nations are made. Cuba can offer you an instance of what usually happens in these cases.

Because we chose our own ways and means of development, in the exercise of our sovereignty and our self-determination, we have been the victims of criminal aggressions, although we had publicly stated on many opportunities our decision to submit to bilateral negotiations, through normal diplomatic channels, all controversies with the Government of the United States; yet, this Government has organized a commercial and economic blockade against our small country; it has promoted conspiracy and terrorism under the direction of the Central Intelligence Agency, and finally followed up its despicable activities with the bombing and the armed invasion of our territory.

OUTSTANDING COURAGE OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE

The Cuban people defeated with extraordinary courage the mercenary troops which the United States, according to its own confession, had equipped and organized to destroy the Cuban Revolution. The Revolution gained in strength and organization after the triumph against the invaders.

Not only do we wish to express our desire to live in peace and to develop our country without external military conflicts, but we accept and welcome most emphatically the friendly mediation of several Latin American governments in the exploration of possibilities for honorable negotiations with the Government of the United States. The arrogant answer of the Government of the United States of America

to this peaceful and worthy conduct of the Cuban Revolutionary Government has been to continue in its aggressive designs and to declare as its irrevocable decision not to initiate any negotiations whatsoever with the Cuban government. In other words, that imperialist government refuses to enter into peaceful, honorable understandings with a small country like ours and proclaims the necessity of destroying the achievements of our Revolution. The imperialist stubbornness on our continent has reached the point where the government of the United States is not even willing to tolerate that other friendly governments pursuing an independent foreign policy defend the self-determination of the Cuban people; as a consequence of this stubbornness and the pressure of imperialism, together with action taken by elements of the national oligarchy, we now have to regret that the constitutional president of Brazil has been forced to renounce his office and that said sister nation is now faced with the danger of a reactionary military dictatorship.

This is certainly not the path that leads to peace and these events do not indicate that the imperialist Powers are honestly ready to coexist in peace with the nations and peoples that do not submit to their designs.

When I give you the Cuban example I know perfectly well that this is nothing new to you. The painful experiences of the Suez Canal in Egypt, the Congo, Laos, Bizerta and of Algeria contribute to the understanding of what has happened in our country. That is why I said in the beginning of my talk that the fruitfulness of this meeting will depend on the degree of firmness of the agreements adopted here. Let us formulate general principles and declarations, but let us not forget the names of Tunisia, Laos, the Congo, Algeria, Puerto Rico and Cuba.

The strengthening of peace is today affected further by one of the problems which during the last few years have caused worry to all peoples of the world. I am referring to the German problem. We all watch with alarm the German rearmament, fearing it may lead to war.

Before anything else and facing the danger of a war which would inevitably develop into a nuclear conflict, it is imperative to urge the

parties directly concerned to renounce attempts to defend their respective positions with military means. It is imperative that we proclaim the necessity of solving the German problem through peaceful negotiations, and that confronted with clear evidence of rearmament we ask for the immediate signing of the Peace Treaty.

This treaty would confirm the German frontiers as determined in Potsdam. Further, it is convenient that we consider the German problem without ignoring a geographically and historically undeniable fact: the actual existence of two German states. It is only by recognizing this fact that the German problem can be tackled.

It is necessary that we make all possible efforts to prevent that the German problem lead to war, and the effective manner to do this is to negotiate the solution of the conflict. Let us ban military methods and demand immediate negotiations in an atmosphere of peace.

Cuba proposes to present a draft resolution in this respect.

CHANGE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

Now, with the coming opening of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, I wish to refer to one of the topics on the agenda of this meeting which I consider of the utmost importance regarding the good and efficient functioning of that world organization. What we discuss and decide here must be brought before the United Nations; therefore, and because we must aspire to make that institution fully meet its historical and institutional duties, we must see to it that it becomes an efficient instrument for the strengthening of peace and international security, and we must accordingly propose and advocate substantial changes in the United Nations Organization.

On several occasions, particularly in the case of the Congo, we have been able to confirm beyond doubt that the composition and structure of the Secretariat of the United Nations Organization, far from being institutionally adequate for the execution and fulfilment of the resolutions, facilitates the violation of same.

We must therefore begin by declaring that its present structure is not adequate for the aims of the founding charter of the organization. First of all, it must be recognized that it cannot continue in the hands of one sole person, whose supposed neutrality nobody can guarantee after the events in the Congo and the murder of Lumumba. In this meeting we must come to agreement as to the urgency of changes in this structure, changes that will insure the impartiality of the General Secretariat.

It is impossible to discuss the grave problems of peace and peaceful coexistence while the right to participate in these discussions is denied a sovereign nation and independent state comprising six hundred million Chinese.

Finally, let us consider the problems of uneven economic development in the world. Independently of the technical aspects connected with international cooperation, a central criterion should rule the handling of this question: the liquidation of uneven development can only be obtained through the eradication of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialist exploitation.

Economic and technical cooperation on an international scale to encourage the economic development of the backward countries can only be effective if carried out on the basis previously mentioned.

The cause of underdevelopment is the survival of world imperialism. The imperialist economic penetration deforms the national economies, turns the backward countries into mere suppliers of raw materials at low price, prevents industrial progress, favors ignorance and breeds poverty.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND MONOPOLIES

Consequently, let us agree, gentlemen, that we can only combat the uneven economic development of nations if we combat imperialism and the monopolies, and if we proclaim the right of all peoples to recover their natural resources and employ them for the benefit of their respective economies.

On the basis of these principles, international technical and economic aid can be successful. This aid must be given under terms that

offer the necessary guarantees that it will not be subject to political conditions nor economic domination.

Mr. President: in the course of this Conference we shall debate and decide on questions in such a way that other countries and governments will be affected as a consequence of the responsibilities that these governments have incurred through their actions. For example, it is inevitable that on reviewing the problems of the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, we should mention the imperialist and colonialist countries and governments, and we shall have to mention their names and point an accusing finger at them when the time comes.

That this should thus happen at the present meeting is not our fault, it is the fault of those governments. Therefore, when we act in this manner, let those governments not try to call us to order. I am quite sure that, like the Cuban people, all peoples here represented who have been the victims of imperialist and colonialist aggressions intend to coexist in peace with the aggressive countries.

We do not struggle against them of our own accord. We are forced to fight, and no government that truly aspires to preserve the dignity and the sovereignty of its nation can reject the challenge.

In our initial words we have referred to cases and situations which are painfully typical of colonialism and imperialism, and we are therefore compelled to mention the Governments of the countries which provoked those situations. When we spoke of the Cuban case, we denounced the unforgivable sin of the aggression committed against my country by the Government and ruling circles of the United States of America. It cannot be adduced here that our conduct does not contribute to relieve international tension and the dangers of war. Fidel Castro, in the last General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, said:

"End the philosophy of plunder and war will cease." We, who desire to end war, should fight, without timidity and with devotion to truth, the philosophy of plunder. If we do not do this, our peoples will have the right to ask for an account of our actions, and the coming generations will despise our names.

I have expressed, in its essential points, the criterion with which

Cuba attends this meeting. We are here because we have faith in its results. We are quite sure that there are countries represented here that, like Cuba, can contribute rich and illustrative experiences with regard to each of the subjects on the agenda.

We believe that this conference can be useful and contribute to the noble efforts of the struggle for peace, against colonialism and imperialism. We have spoken clearly. That is our style, we know no other.

This, gentlemen, is the language of a people in Revolution who have paid a high price in blood for their liberty. It is the language of a people who wish to progress, increase their wealth and achieve true happiness through peace and creative work.

It is the language of a people who have earned, by their own efforts, a place of honor in history, and have won victories, even on the battlefield, against the fiercest representatives of modern imperialism.

We are ready for the task of reconciling conflicting criteria and interests so that the fundamental objectives of this conference may be achieved. We can do this because, as I said at the beginning of my speech, we have only one commitment. It is a commitment to our principles and our people.

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